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The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453

CYRIL MANGO

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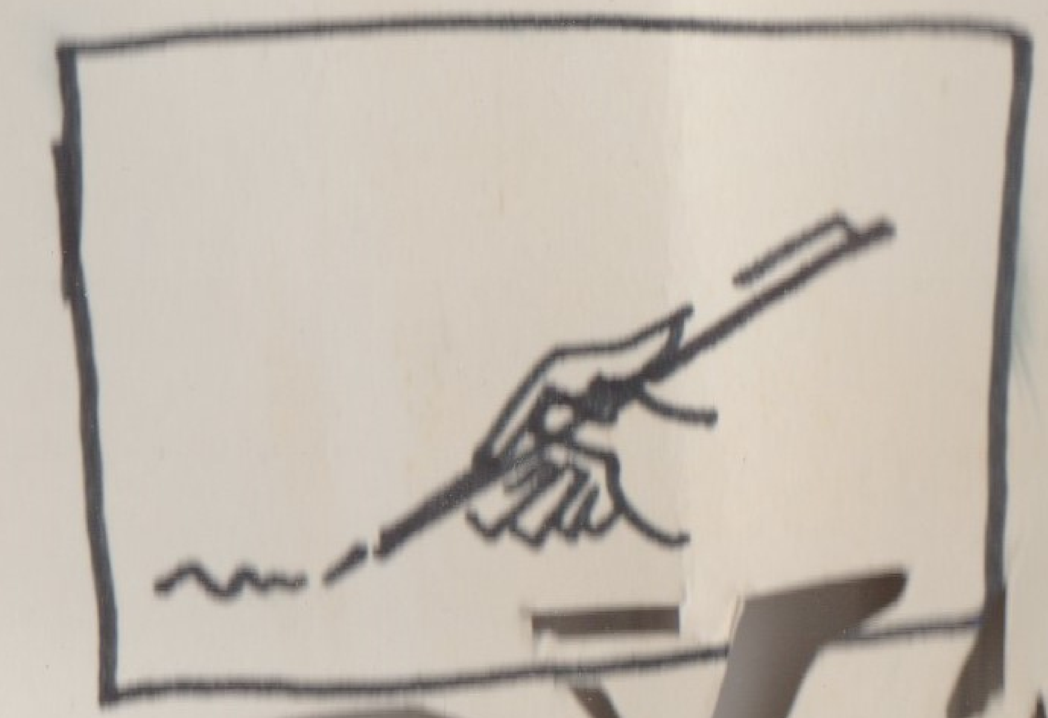

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H. W. Janson, Editor

Kill.
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Nothing
More.

The Art of the Byzantine Empire

312–1453

SOURCES and DOCUMENTS

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medieval date are of western origin, even if they contain material traceable to Byzantine sources (such as the *Compositiones Lucenses,* the *Mappae clavicula,* the *Schedula* of Theophilus and the *De coloribus* of Heraclius); the earliest Slavic manual, which goes under the name of bishop Nectarius, is of the end of the 16th century;[4] while the famous *Painter's Guide* (*Hermêneia*) by Dionysios of Fourna is a work of the 18th century.[5] I am aware of the fact that the latter, both in its technical and iconographic sections, often perpetuates genuine Byzantine practice; but to separate the Byzantine elements from later accretions is a task of considerable complexity.

GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE

The central tradition of Byzantine art is undoubtedly to be located at Constantinople, but to define its outer periphery is a matter of considerable delicacy. In this book I have, by and large, neglected the West for the reason that it has been covered in the companion volume on Early Medieval Art. I have, however, made an exception for Ravenna in the 6th and 7th centuries, since that city maintained close ties with the eastern capital, and its monuments are of crucial importance to every student of Byzantine art. The activity of Byzantine artists in western Europe, a highly complex problem,[6] has been left out.

Another area I have not attempted to cover, except for Eusebius' description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is that of the Holy Land. There exists, of course, a vast body of material—mostly pilgrims' accounts[7]—relating to the Palestinian shrines, and I do not wish to deny

[4] See N. Petrov, "'Tipik' o cerkovnom i o nastennom pis'me . . ." *Zapiski Imper. Russk. Archeol. Obščestva,* N.S., XI, 1/2 (St. Petersburg, 1899), 1 ff.

[5] The only halfway decent edition is that by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hermêneia tês zôgraphikês technês* (St. Petersburg, 1909). The French trans. by Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne* (Paris, 1845), which has served as the basis for further translations into other European languages, is often seriously misleading.

[6] See E. Müntz, "Les artistes byzantins dans l'Europe latine du Ve au XVIe siècle," *Revue de l'art chrétien,* Ser. 4, IV (1893), 181–90; A. L. Frothingham, Jr., "Byzantine Artists in Italy from the Sixth to the Fifteenth Century," *American Journal of Archaeology,* IX (1894), 32–52. There is no up to date, detailed treatment of this subject. The well-known passage by Leo of Ostia concerning Byzantine artists and artefacts at Monte Cassino is readily available in E. G. Holt, *Literary Sources of Art History* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 4 ff.

[7] Basic collections: T. Tobler, *Itinera et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,* I (Geneva, 1877), continued as *Itinera hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,* I/2 by T. Tobler and A. Molinier (1880); II by A. Molinier and C. Kohler (1885); T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saec. VIII, IX, XII et XV* (Leipzig, 1874); P. Geyer, *Itinera hierosolymitana saec. IV–VIII,*

that these monuments may have played an important part in the development of Byzantine art. A representative selection of this material, however, would have required more space than I could give it; little purpose would have been served by presenting a few snippets from Aetheria or Arculf.

With regard to the geographical extension of our source material there is a conspicuous difference between the period of the Christian Roman Empire (i.e., up to the middle of the 7th century) and the subsequent Byzantine period proper. The first is marked by a considerable number of urban centers that produced literature or are otherwise documented. Thus, some of our most interesting texts relate to Gaza; we know a good deal about the monuments of Antioch, and we have descriptions of churches at Tyre, Nazianzus, Nyssa, Edessa, etc. Surprisingly little, incidentally, is recorded of the Christian monuments of Alexandria. In the period after the 7th century and until the fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 the situation changed radically: there was only one "city of culture," namely Constantinople, and practically all literary production was concentrated within its walls. The same applied to the reading public. As a result, our textual information is limited almost entirely to the monuments of Constantinople; we know next to nothing about the provinces.

BYZANTINE ART CRITICISM

Contemporary scholars have expressed some subtle views concerning the aesthetic values of Byzantine art: these, it is claimed, were influenced by philosophical, particularly neo-Platonic doctrines, which account for such phenomena as reverse perspective, radiating composition, disregard for scale and depth, etc.[8] Whatever value there may be in such theories, it is only fair to say that they receive little support from the texts. The "anagogical argument" (namely, that images serve to elevate our minds to immaterial realities), an argument derived from neo-Platonism via the pseudo-Dionysian writings, does, in fact, appear from time to time, but it is the exception rather than the rule. The prevailing view of Byzantine authors is that their art was highly true to nature. A perusal of the texts collected here will confirm this statement. The work

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Corpus script. eccles. latin., XXXIX (1898); *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik*, I–LXIII (St. Petersburg, 1881–1917). Many of the more important texts may be found in English translation in the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, 13 vols. (London, 1897).

[8] See, e.g., A. Grabar, "Plotin et les origines de l'esthétique médiévale," *Cahiers archéologiques*, I (1945), 15–34; G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1963).

Acta Sanctorum,

Byzantinische Zeitsch

Corpus scriptorum hist (Bonn, 1828–1897).

R. Janin, *Constantinopl* ed. (Paris, 1964).

La géographie eccl

Constantine attained the imperial dignity in 306. His espousal of the Christian religion, traditionally associated with the battle of the Milvian Bridge (312), provides, however, a more natural starting point for this chapter.

Like the Tetrarchic emperors before him, Constantine was a great builder in what may be called the 'public sector.' He was, moreover, faced with an entirely new challenge: having raised Christianity to the status of a privileged religion, of which he was in some way the High Protector, he wished to give it a suitable public image. This meant that churches had to be built in key cities, and they had to be as large and as sumptuous as possible. Since there was no previous tradition of Christian architecture to draw on, a new formula had to be devised: this was the basilica, adapted from a type of building that had long been used, mainly in the western provinces, for a variety of civic purposes.[1] Essentially, the Christian basilica was a timber-roofed, elongated structure having at one end an elevated dais for the bishop and clergy. It posed no difficult problems of engineering such as were inherent in vaulted or domed buildings—an important consideration at a time when qualified architects were in critically short supply; and it could be built very big. The essential dullness of the architectural shell could then be covered up with a rich placage of colored marbles, painting, and mosaic—this impressed the populace. The rather vulgar emphasis on everything that glittered—gilding, silver revetments, polished marble, hangings of purple—was very much in the spirit of the times,[2] and eventually became a permanent heritage of Byzantine art. This aspect is clearly reflected in the written sources.

In spite of the fact that the impetus for monumental church building came from the central government, Constantine's architects did not develop, as far as we can judge, a standardized type of basilica.[3] Moreover, many of the important foundations of this period were not simply houses of congregation, but had a commemorative function as well: such especially were the churches built in the Holy Land on the spots that had been hallowed by Christ's life or by earlier Biblical events.[4] In such martyria there was a focus towards which veneration was directed, be it the grotto of the Nativity or the Sepulchre, and this required a special architectural setting that was necessarily different in each case.

1 Among the numerous discussions of this topic, see especially J. B. Ward Perkins, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," *Papers of the British School at Rome,* XXII (1954), 69–90.

2 Cf. R. MacMullen, "Some Pictures in Ammianus Marcellinus," *Art Bulletin,* XLVI (1964), 435–55.

3 This is emphasized by R. Krautheimer, "Constantine's Church Foundations," *Akten des VII. Internat. Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Trier, 1965), 237–55.

4 See the fundamental work of A. Grabar, *Martyrium,* I (Paris, 1946), 234 ff.

The [illegible] Emperor built two beautiful porticoes from the entrance of the palace to the forum which he adorned with statues and marble, and he called the place of the porticoes Regia. Nearby he built a basilica with a conch, outside of which he set up huge columns and statues, and this he called the Senate. He named that place Augustaion because he had erected opposite [the Senate] the statue of his own mother, our Lady the Augusta Helena, upon a porphyry column. Furthermore, he completed the public bath called Zeuxippus[25] and decorated it with columns, different kinds of marble and bronze statues. . . .

In the year 301 after Our Lord's Ascension to heaven and the 25th of his reign, Constantine . . . having built an immense, splendid and felicitous city, named it Constantinople. . . . He conducted the first circus games and was the first to wear a diadem decorated with pearls and precious stones. He celebrated a big feast and ordered by his sacred decree that on this day, the 11th of Artemisios,[26] be observed the birthday of his city, and that the public bath of Zeuxippus (which is close to the Hippodrome and the Regia [and] the palace) should be opened. He made another statue of himself of gilded wood, holding in his right hand the Tyche of this City, also gilded, and he decreed that on the day of the birthday games this wooden statue should be brought in under escort of soldiers wearing cloaks and boots, everyone holding white tapers, and that the chariot[27] should go round the upper turning-post[28] and come to the Stama,[29] facing the imperial *loge*, and that the reigning emperor should arise and pay homage to the statue of the emperor Constantine and the Tyche of the City.

Christian Monuments at Constantinople, Nicomedia and Antioch

Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* III, 48 ff: 48. Honoring with special favor the city which is called after his own name, he [Constantine] adorned it with many places of worship and martyrs' shrines of great size and beauty, some in the suburbs and others in the city itself; by which he both honored the memory of the martyrs and consecrated his city to the martyrs' God. Being altogether inspired with divine wisdom, he determined to cleanse of all idolatry the city which he had decreed should bear his

25 Also begun by Septimius Severus.

26 May.

27 I.e. the chariot upon which the wooden statue was placed.

28 The arena of the Hippodrome was divided lengthwise by a low wall (Lat. *spina*, Gr. *Euripus*) at each end of which was a turning post (Lat. *meta*, Gr. *kampton* or *kampter*) in the form of three cones placed on a semicircular pedestal.

29 The text of both Chron. Pasch. and Malalas read *skamma* but *stama* was the correct form. It designated the part of the arena immediately in front of the imperial box, which was also the finishing line for chariot races.

own name; so that there should nowhere appear in it statues of the supposed gods worshipped in temples, nor altars defiled by pollutions of blood, nor sacrifices burnt by fire, nor demonic festivals, nor anything else that is customary among the superstitious.

49. Instead, one could see upon the fountains placed in public squares images of the Good Shepherd, familiar to those who have a grounding in the Holy Scripture, as well as Daniel with the lions, made of bronze and resplendent with gold leaf. Indeed, the Emperor's soul was seized by such intense love of God, that in the most preeminent building of the imperial palace itself he affixed on a large panel in the center of the gilded ceiling the sign of the Saviour's Passion composed of various precious stones set in an abundance of gold. This, in his love of God, he regarded as the phylactery of his very empire.

50. In this way, then, he beautified his own city. And likewise, he honored the capital of Bithynia [Nicomedia] by the offering of a very large and splendid church, out of his own treasure raising in that place, too, in honor of his Saviour a memorial of victory over his enemies and the adversaries of God. And he caused the most prominent cities of other provinces to be distinguished by the magnificence of their houses of worship, as in the case of the eastern metropolis that derives its name from Antiochus. Here, as it was the capital of the provinces in that region, he consecrated a church really unique in size and beauty. On the outside, he surrounded the entire church with enclosures of great extent, while the interior of the house of prayer he raised to an immense height. This was made in the form of an octagon ringed all round with chambers (*chôrêmata*) both on the upper and lower levels, and was decorated with a profusion of gold, brass and other costly materials.[30]

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (326–35)[31]

Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* III, 29 ff: 29. These things having been done,[32] forthwith the Emperor, by the injunction of pious edicts and [the provision of] ample grants, gave orders that a house of prayer worthy of God should be built round about the Cave of Salvation with rich and

30 An almost identical description of the church at Antioch may be found in Eusebius' *Speech on the Tricennalia of Constantine*, IX, 15, ed. Heikel, p. 221. Its only significant deviation from the one quoted above is that it designates the spaces surrounding the central octagon not as *chôrêmata*, but as *oikoi* (which means just about the same) and *exedrai*.

31 Among the numerous discussions of this passage, see esp. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/1–2 (Paris, 1914), 155 ff.; E. Wistrand, *Konstantins Kirche am Heiligen Grab in Jerusalem* (Göteborg, 1952), pp. 4 ff.; K. J. Conant and G. Downey, "The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem," *Speculum*, XXXI (1956), 1 ff.

32 The preceding chapters describe the discovery by Constantine of Christ's Sepulchre and the removal of the pagan temple that had been built on top of it.

[truly] imperial magnificence. This he had had in view for a long time, and had foreseen, by a superior providence, what was going to happen. To the governors of the peoples of the East he gave orders that by means of abundant and liberal grants they should make the work quite extraordinary in size and costliness; while to the bishop who at that time presided over the Church at Jerusalem he sent the following letter. . . .

We omit the preamble of Constantine's letter to bishop Macarius, but reproduce the main body of the letter which defines the bishop's responsibility in the erection of the church.

31. "It befits, therefore, your Sagacity to make such arrangements and such provision of every necessary thing, that not only shall this basilica be the finest in the world, but that everything else, too, shall be of such quality that all the most beautiful buildings of every city may be surpassed by this one. As regards the construction and decoration of the walls, know that we have entrusted that to the care of our friend Dracilianus, deputy to the Praetorian Prefects [i.e., Vicarius Orientis], and the governor of the province; for they have been instructed by My Piety to furnish forthwith by their providence both artificers and workmen and everything else that is necessary for the building after consulting with your Sagacity. Concerning the columns and marbles of whatever kind you consider to be most precious and serviceable, please inform us yourself in writing after an estimate has been made, so that we may learn from your letter what quantity and what kind are needed, and that these may be conveyed from every quarter: for it is fitting that the most wondrous place in the world should be adorned according to its worth. 32. As for the vault (*kamara*) of the basilica, I wish to know from you whether in your opinion it should be coffered or finished in some other fashion; for if it is to be coffered, it may also be adorned with gold. It remains for your Holiness to inform with all speed the aforementioned magistrates how many workmen and artificers and what expenditure of money are needful, and to report to me directly not only concerning the marbles and columns, but also concerning the coffering, if you should consider the latter to be preferable. May God guard you, beloved brother!"

33. These things did the Emperor write, and his instructions were at once carried into effect. Indeed, at the very memorial (*marturion*) of Salvation was the New Jerusalem built, over against the one so famous of old which, after the sacrilege of the Lord's murder, was given over to utter desolation in punishment of its inhabitants' impiety. Opposite the latter, the Emperor, thanks to his rich liberalities, reared the trophy of the Saviour's victory over death, this being perhaps the strange new Jerusalem proclaimed in prophetic oracles and sung in countless ways in long passages of divinely inspired prophecy.[33] And, first of all, he adorned

[33] Cf. Rev. 3:12, 21:2.

the sacred Cave which was, as it were, the head of the whole [work]. . . 34. This first, as being the head of the whole, the Emperor's liberality beautified with choice columns and with much ornament, decorating it with all kinds of embellishments. 35. Next one passed to an enormous space open to the clear sky, its ground adorned with a pavement of shining stone, and bounded on three sides by a long circuit of porticoes. 36. To the side opposite the Cave, which side faced the rising sun, was joined the basilica (*basileios neos*), an extraordinary work rising to an immense height, and of great extent in both length and breadth. The interior was covered with slabs of variegated marble, while the exterior of the walls, adorned by the joining of dressed stones, one to another, provided a spectacle of surpassing beauty, not at all inferior to the appearance of marble. As to the roof, the outside construction was covered with lead, a sure protection against winter rains; while the inside, composed of carved coffering, which, like a great sea, extended over the entire basilica in a continuous intertwining, and being entirely overlaid with radiant gold, made the whole church gleam with flashes of light.

37. On either side, extending the length of the church, were twin aisles (*parastades*)[34] each consisting of a double range, an upper and a lower, and also having their ceiling adorned with gold. The aisles facing the nave were supported by enormous columns, while those that were behind were raised on piers richly decorated on their faces. Three doors, well placed towards the rising sun, admitted the entering crowds. 38. Opposite these doors was a "hemisphere",[35] the main point of the whole building, placed at the end of the basilica. This was encircled by twelve columns, equal in number to the Saviour's apostles, and their summits were adorned with great bowls of silver, which the Emperor himself gave as a splendid offering—to his God. 39. Going on from there to the entrances in front of the church, there was another atrium. Here were exedrae on either side and a first court with porticoes, and finally the gates of the court, following which, on the public square, was the porch of the whole edifice, of exquisite workmanship, which afforded to the passers-by on the outside a striking view of the interior.

40. This, then, was the church of Our Saviour's Resurrection which the Emperor reared as a conspicuous memorial (*marturion*) and which he adorned throughout in costly imperial fashion. He also embellished it with numerous offerings of indescribable beauty, gold and silver and

[34] The normal meaning of *parastás* is 'jamb' or 'pilaster.' In this context, however, Eusebius can be thinking only of the lateral colonnades. Cf. Vincent and Abel, pp. 160 ff.

[35] The interpretation of the term *hemisphairion* (normally = 'dome') has given rise to much discussion. Most scholars believe that Eusebius is referring to an apse surmounted by a semidome, but other solutions have also been proposed. Cf. A. Piganiol, "L'hémisphairion et l'omphalos des Lieux Saints," *Cahiers archéologiques*, I (1945), 7 ff.

precious stones set in different materials; the skillful arrangement of which in regard to size, number and variety I have no leisure at present to describe in detail.

Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, A. M. 5828:[36] In this year [336/7] flourished[37] Eustathius, a presbyter of Constantinople, a man who embraced an apostolic way of life and attained to the summit of virtue; and the architect Zenobius who built the Martyrium at Jerusalem by Constantine's order.

The Church of Laodiceia Combusta in Lycaonia (c. 330)

Epitaph of Bishop Eugenius:[38] . . . And having spent a short time in the city of the Laodiceans, I was made bishop by the will of Almighty God, and this bishopric I governed with much merit for a full twenty-five years, and I rebuilt the whole church from its foundations[39] with all the adornments around it, namely the porticoes (*stoai*), the *tetrastoa*,[40] the paintings, the mosaics (*kentêsis*), the water-fountain, the porch (*propulon*), and all the works of the stone-masons.

Exemptions Conferred on Architects and Artisans

***Cod. Theod.* XIII, 4, 1 (Edict of Constantine to the Praetorian Prefect Felix, posted at Carthage in 334):** There is need of as many architects as possible; but since there are none of them, Your Sublimity shall encourage to this study those men in the African provinces who are about eighteen years old and have had a taste of the liberal arts. In order to make this attractive to them, it is Our will that they themselves as well as their parents shall be immune from those services that are wont to be imposed on individuals, and that a suitable salary shall be appointed for the students themselves.

36 Ed. de Boor, I, 33.

37 Literally "was well known for his preeminence" (*diaprepôn egnôrizeto*). This passage has been strangely misinterpreted and misdated to 326 or 328 by modern commentators. As it stands, the text of Theophanes does not suggest that Eustathius had anything to do with the building of the Holy Sepulchre, as is normally assumed. It is true that in Jerome's translation of the Eusebian Chronicle (ed. R. Helm, *Griech. christl. Schriftsteller, Eusebius Werke*, VII, 1, [1913], 233f.), it is Eustathius who appears as the architect (*Eustathius Constantinopolitanus presbyter agnoscitur, cujus industria in Hierosolymis martyrium constructum est*), and the same is repeated almost word for word by Prosper of Aquitaine (PL 51, 576 C). The question remains whether it is Theophanes or Jerome who preserves more accurately the original source.

38 Ed. W. M. Calder, *Klio*, X (1910), 233; P. Batiffol, *Bull. d'ancienne littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, I (1911), 25 ff.

39 The earlier church having presumably been destroyed during the Great Persecution. Cf. p. 4, n. 7.

40 I.e., the atrium surrounded by four porticoes. The plural form is perhaps used here for emphasis only.

***Testamentum Domini* I, 19:**[7] I will tell you, then, how a sanctuary ought to be; then I will make known unto you the holy canon of the priests of the Church.

Let a church then be thus: with three entries in type of the Trinity. And let [illegible] diakonikon be to the right of the right hand entry, to the purpose [illegible] the Eucharists, or offerings that are offered, may be seen. Let there be a forecourt, with a portico ru[illegible] round, to this diakonikon. And within the forecourt let there be [illegible] for a baptistery, with its length 21 cubits for [illegible] of the prophets, and its breadth 12 cubi[illegible] of those who were [illegible]nted to preach the Gospel; one en[illegible]

Let the [illegible] which shall also [illegible] let it not [illegible] church, so that [illegible] in [illegible] may hear the [illegible] and spiritual [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] towards the ea[illegible] and to [illegible] left places [illegible]sbyters, so [illegible] righ[illegible] [illegible] ored may [illegible], an[illegible] thos[illegible] [illegible] statu[illegible] on the [illegible] side. A[illegible] place of the [illegible] steps [illegible] altar als[illegible] to be th[illegible] [illegible] have two porticoes[9] t[illegible] to lef[illegible] and fo[illegible]

A[illegible] for rea[illegible]

L[illegible] it is wi[illegible]

L[illegible] a veil.

And as for the Com[illegible]oration [illegible] built so that a pries[illegible] may sit, and the archdeaco[illegible] with reade[illegible] write the names of thos[illegible] who are offering oblation[illegible] of those on [illegible] behalf they offer, so that when the holy things are [illegible]eing offered [illegible] bishop, a reader or the archdeacon may name the[illegible] in this co[illegible]ration which priests and people offer with supplication on their b[illegible] For this type is also in the heavens.

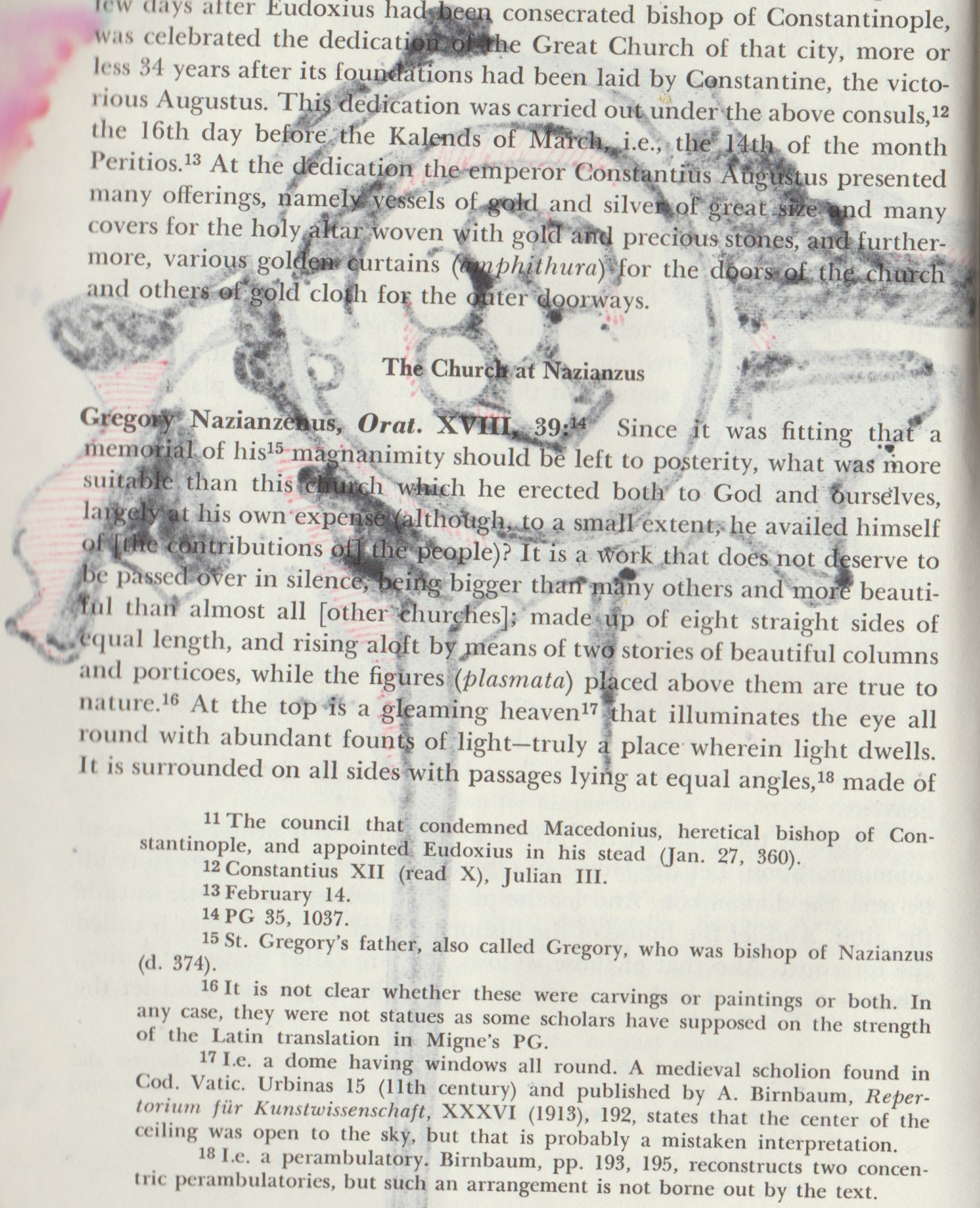
And let the place of the priests be [illegible] in a veil near the place of commemoration. Let the House of Oblat[illegible] *chorbanas*) and treasury all be near the diakonikon. And let the plac[illegible] reading[10] be a little outside the altar. And let the house of the bishop [illegible] near the place that is called the forecourt. Also that of those widows [illegible] are called first in standing. That of the priests and deacons also beh[illegible] the baptistery. And let the

7 Ed. Rahmani, pp. 22 ff. We have [illegible]oduced with a few changes the English translation by the Rev. D. J. Chitt[illegible]m *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. C. H. Kraeling (New Haven, 1938), pp. [illegible]-76.

8 I.e., a narthex.

9 I.e., aisles.

10 I.e., the ambo.



deaconesses remain by the door of the Lord's house. And let the church have a hostel near by, where the archdeacon may be receiving strangers.

Dedication of St. Sophia, Çonstantinople, 360

***Chron. Paschale* I, 544:** At the time of this council of bishops,[11] a few days after Eudoxius had been consecrated bishop of Constantinople, was celebrated the dedication of the Great Church of that city, more or less 34 years after its foundations had been laid by Constantine, the victorious Augustus. This dedication was carried out under the above consuls,[12] the 16th day before the Kalends of March, i.e., the 14th of the month Peritios.[13] At the dedication the emperor Constantius Augustus presented many offerings, namely vessels of gold and silver of great size and many covers for the holy altar woven with gold and precious stones, and furthermore, various golden curtains (*amphithura*) for the doors of the church and others of gold cloth for the outer doorways.

The Church at Nazianzus

Gregory Nazianzenus, *Orat.* XVIII, 39:[14] Since it was fitting that a memorial of his[15] magnanimity should be left to posterity, what was more suitable than this church which he erected both to God and ourselves, largely at his own expense (although, to a small extent, he availed himself of [the contributions of] the people)? It is a work that does not deserve to be passed over in silence, being bigger than many others and more beautiful than almost all [other churches]; made up of eight straight sides of equal length, and rising aloft by means of two stories of beautiful columns and porticoes, while the figures (*plasmata*) placed above them are true to nature.[16] At the top is a gleaming heaven[17] that illuminates the eye all round with abundant founts of light—truly a place wherein light dwells. It is surrounded on all sides with passages lying at equal angles,[18] made of

11 The council that condemned Macedonius, heretical bishop of Constantinople, and appointed Eudoxius in his stead (Jan. 27, 360).

12 Constantius XII (read X), Julian III.

13 February 14.

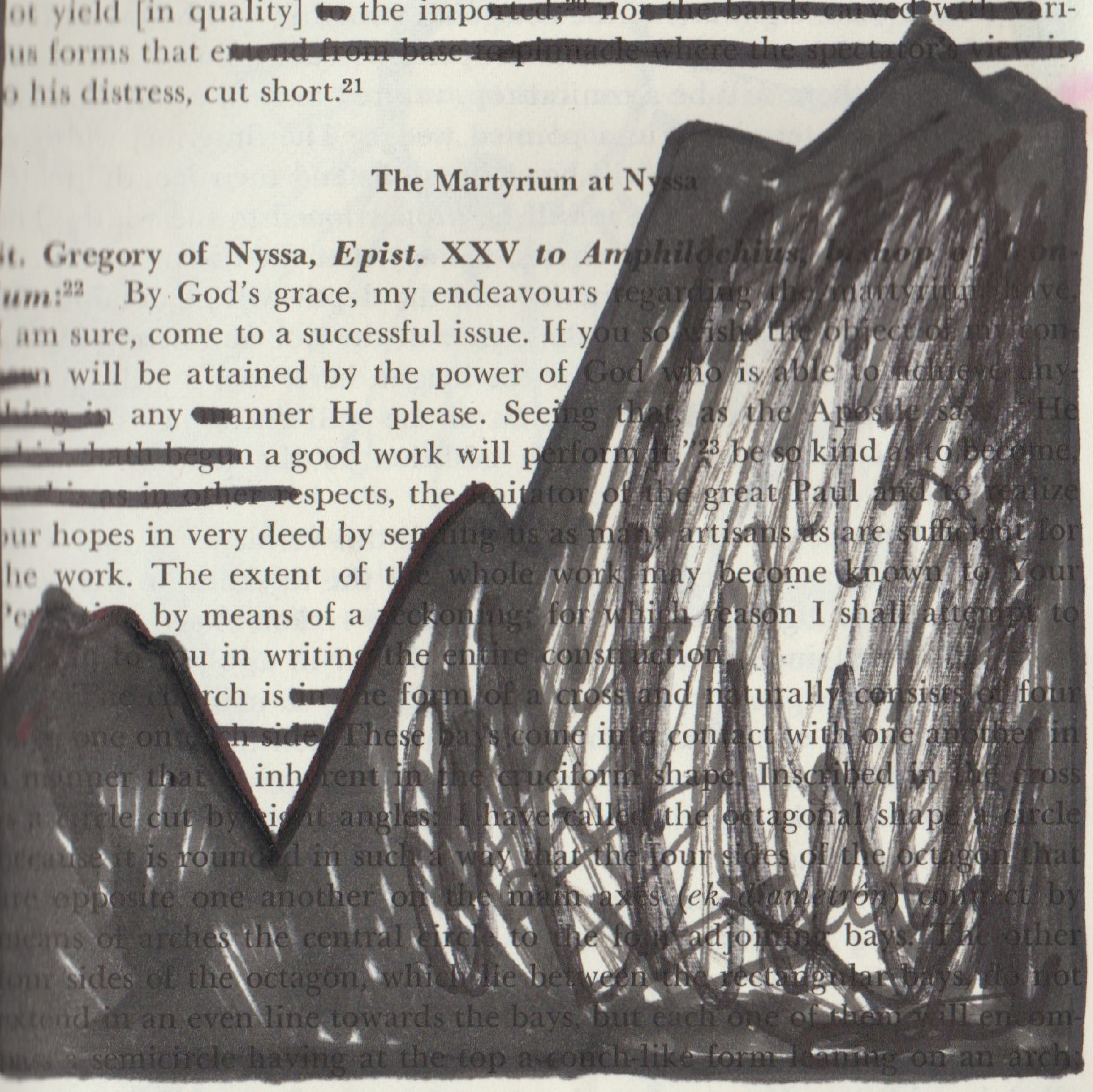
14 PG 35, 1037.

15 St. Gregory's father, also called Gregory, who was bishop of Nazianzus (d. 374).

16 It is not clear whether these were carvings or paintings or both. In any case, they were not statues as some scholars have supposed on the strength of the Latin translation in Migne's PG.

17 I.e. a dome having windows all round. A medieval scholion found in Cod. Vatic. Urbinas 15 (11th century) and published by A. Birnbaum, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVI (1913), 192, states that the center of the ceiling was open to the sky, but that is probably a mistaken interpretation.

18 I.e. a perambulatory. Birnbaum, pp. 193, 195, reconstructs two concentric perambulatories, but such an arrangement is not borne out by the text.



[redacted]ial, which enclose a vast central space, and it shines forth [redacted] of its doors and vestibules which greet the visitor from [redacted] the exterior adornment[redacted]y and size of [redacted]ether to a hair's[redacted]ble pedestals nd capitals which occupy the corners,[19] and [redacted] whi[redacted] ot yield [in quality] [redacted] the impo[redacted]ri- us forms that e[redacted] o his distress, cut short.[21]

The Martyrium at N[redacted]

t. Gregory of Nyssa, *Epist.* XXV *to Am*[redacted] *um*:[22] By God's grace, my endeavours [redacted] am sure, come to a successful issue. If y[redacted] will be attained by the power of [redacted] any [redacted]anner He please. Seei[redacted]n a good work will p[redacted]espects, the [redacted] ur hopes in very deed by se[redacted] he work. The extent of t[redacted] Pe[redacted] by means of a [redacted]u in writing [redacted]

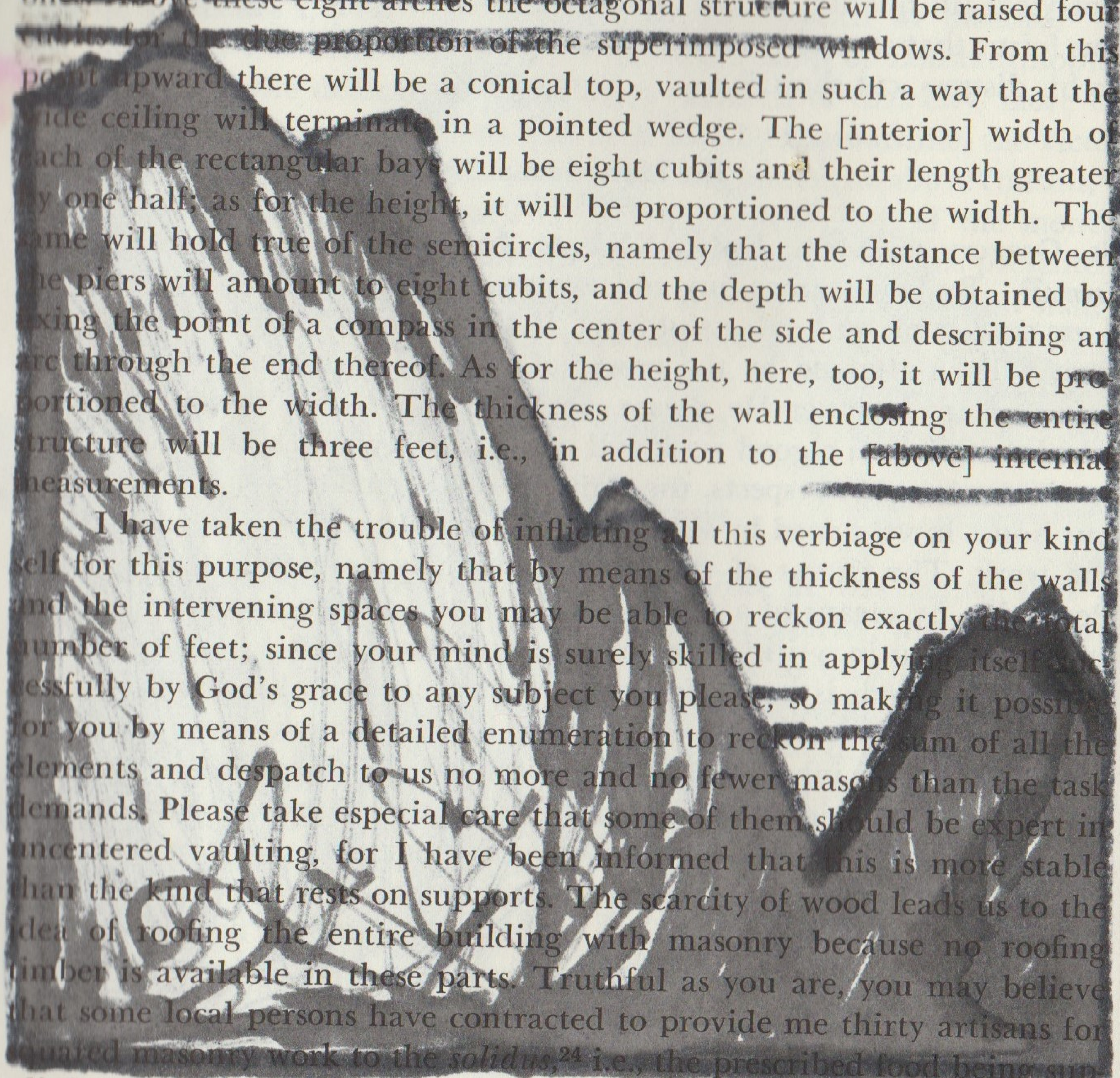
[redacted]s or pile[redacted] capitals and pede[redacted]

[redacted]ently used for the shafts [redacted] of the church.

[redacted]iast referred to in note 17 contributes t[redacted]: "The form of the church is octagonal, such a[redacted] of St. John at Alexandria. Such also is the church of th[redacted]e." And further down, with reference to the two-storeyed portic[redacted]here also exist three-storeyed *stoai*, as in the church of Diony[redacted]lexandria."

22 Ed. G. Pasquali, pp. 79 ff. Cf. J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien* (Leipzig, [redacted]), [redacted]p. 71 ff. (contribution by B. Keil).

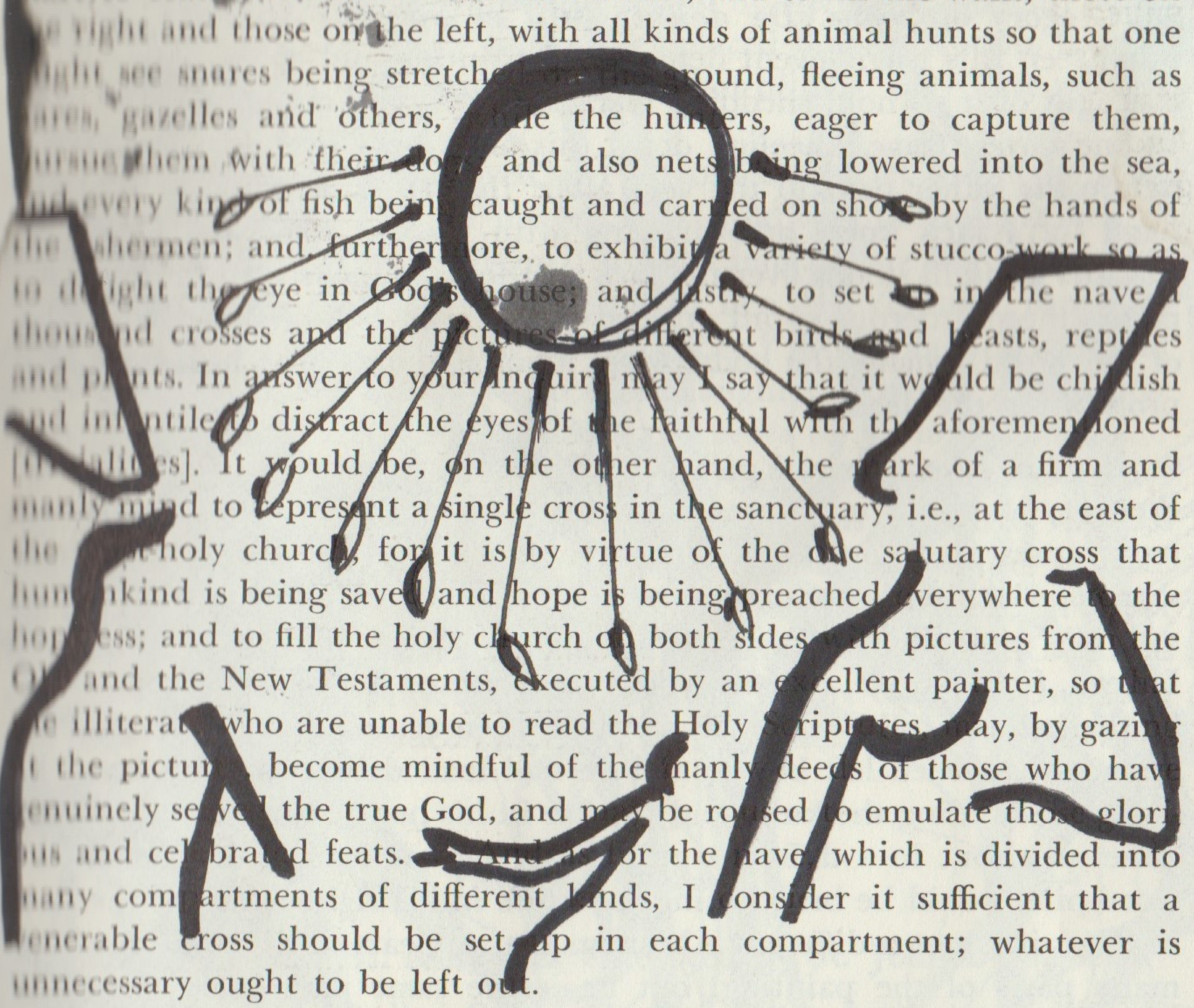
23 Phil. 1:6.



so that, all together, there will be eight arches by means [redacted] squares and semicircles will parallel-wise be conjoined [redacted] space. Next [redacted] of the diagonal piers [redacted] number of [redacted] sake of both [redacted], and the[redacted] constructed in the same manner as the outer [redacted] the octagonal structure will be raised four [redacted] windows. From this point upward there will be a conical top, vaulted in such a way that the wide ceiling [redacted] in a pointed wedge. The [interior] width of each of the rectangular bays will be eight cubits and their length greater by one half; as for the height, it will be proportioned to the width. The same will hold true of the semicircles, namely that the distance between the piers will amount to eight cubits, and the depth will be obtained by fixing the point of a compass in the center of the side and describing an arc through the end thereof. As for the height, here, too, it will be proportioned to the width. The thickness of the wall enclosing [redacted] structure will be three feet, i.e., in addition to the [redacted] measurements.

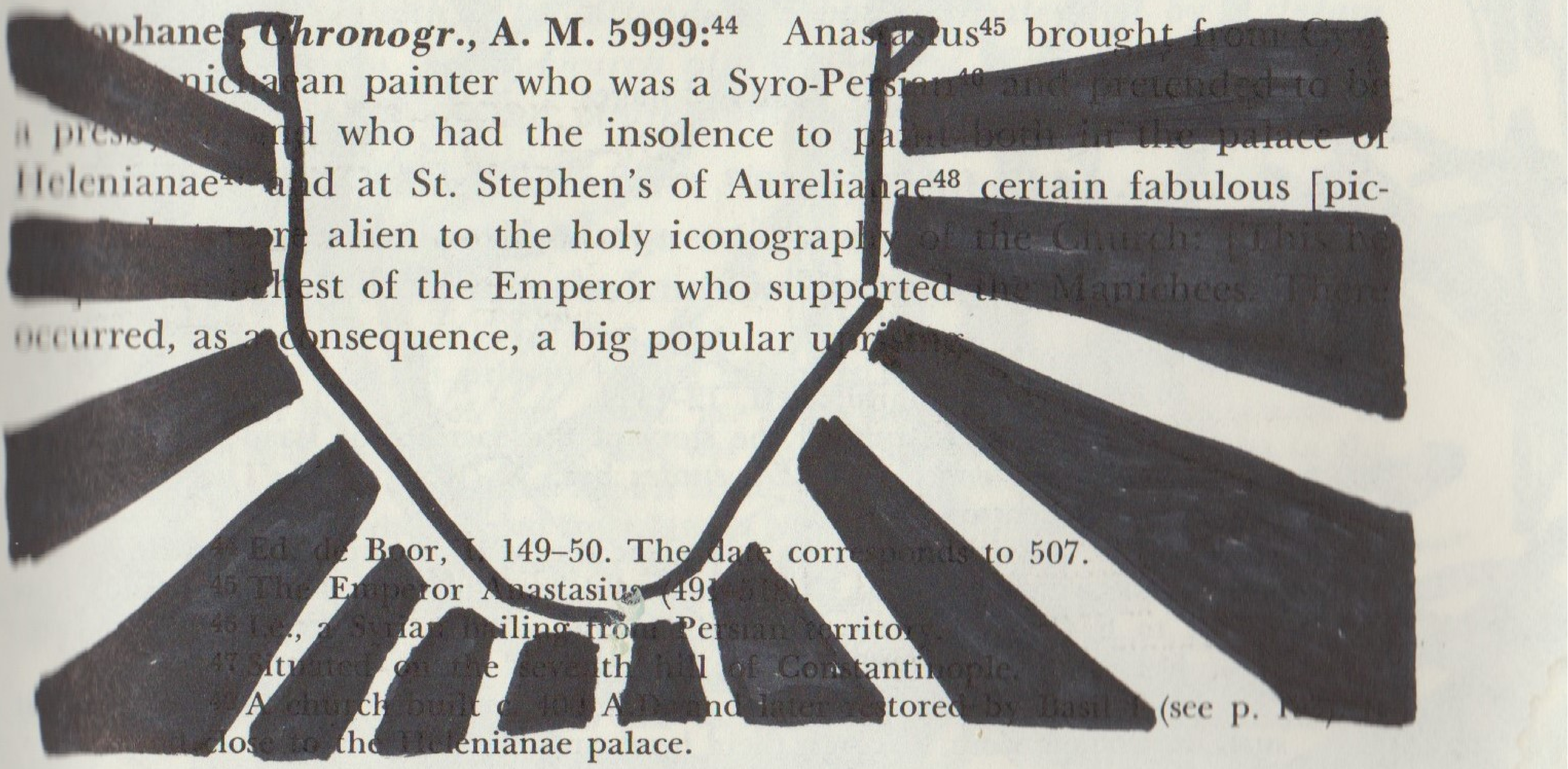
I have taken the trouble of inflicting all this verbiage on your kind self for this purpose, namely that by means of the thickness of the walls and the intervening spaces you may be able to reckon exactly [redacted] number of feet; since your mind is surely skilled in applying itself [redacted] cessfully by God's grace to any subject you please, so making it possible for you by means of a detailed enumeration to reckon [redacted] sum of all the elements and despatch to us no more and no fewer masons than the task demands. Please take especial care that some of them should be expert in uncentered vaulting, for I have been informed that this is more stable than the kind that rests on supports. The scarcity of wood leads us to the idea of roofing the entire building with masonry because no roofing timber is available in these parts. Truthful as you are, you may believe that some local persons have contracted to provide me thirty artisans for squared masonry work to the *solidus*,[24] i.e., the prescribed food being supplied in addition. However, we have no [source of] stone, so that the [redacted] will be clay brick as well as [redacted] stones hap[redacted] our way; consequently, there will be [redacted] them to [redacted] dressing the face of the stones so that they fit one to another. Besides, I know that the men of your parts [redacted] and [redacted] with regard to their wages than our [redacted] who are [redacted] of our need. As for the task of the stone-carvers, this

[24] I.e. per day. St. Gregory evidently considered this rate of pay too high, and tried to obtain cheaper labor from the region of Iconium. For laborers' wages see G. Ostrogorsky, "Löhne und Preise in Byzanz," *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, XXXII (1932), 295 ff.; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), II, 858.



inquire of me in writing whether it be fitting to set up their images in the sanctuary inasmuch as they have borne testimony of Christ by their martyrs' feats, their labors and their sweat; and to fill the walls, those on the right and those on the left, with all kinds of animal hunts so that one might see snares being stretched on the ground, fleeing animals, such as hares, gazelles and others, while the hunters, eager to capture them, pursue them with their dogs; and also nets being lowered into the sea, and every kind of fish being caught and carried on shore by the hands of the fishermen; and, furthermore, to exhibit a variety of stucco-work so as to delight the eye in God's house; and, lastly, to set up in the nave a thousand crosses and the pictures of different birds and beasts, reptiles and plants. In answer to your inquiry, may I say that it would be childish and infantile to distract the eyes of the faithful with the aforementioned [trivialities]. It would be, on the other hand, the mark of a firm and manly mind to represent a single cross in the sanctuary, i.e., at the east of the most holy church, for it is by virtue of the one salutary cross that humankind is being saved and hope is being preached everywhere to the hopeless; and to fill the holy church on both sides with pictures from the Old and the New Testaments, executed by an excellent painter, so that the illiterate who are unable to read the Holy Scriptures, may, by gazing at the pictures, become mindful of the manly deeds of those who have genuinely served the true God, and may be roused to emulate those glorious and celebrated feats. [redacted] for the nave which is divided into many compartments of different kinds, I consider it sufficient that a venerable cross should be set up in each compartment; whatever is unnecessary ought to be left out.

Heterodox Painting



[redacted]phanes, *Chronogr.*, A. M. 5999:[44] Anastasius[45] brought [redacted] nichaean painter who was a Syro-Persian[46] [redacted] d who had the insolence to [redacted] Helenianae[47] and at St. Stephen's of Aurelianae[48] certain fabulous [pic- [redacted] alien to the holy iconography [redacted] est of the Emperor who supported [redacted] occurred, as a consequence, a big popular u[redacted]

[44] Ed. de Boor, I, 149–50. The date corresponds to 507.
[45] The Emperor Anastasius [redacted]
[46] I.e., a Syrian hailing from Persian territory.
[47] Situated on the seventh hill of Constantinople.
[48] A church built c. 403 A.D. and later restored by Basil I (see p. [redacted]) close to the Helenianae palace.

The Sacrifice of Isaac

St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*:[49] I have often seen this tragic event depicted in painting and could not walk by the sight of it without shedding tears, so clearly did art present the story to one's eyes. Isaac, kneeling down, his arms bent over his back, is set before his father next to the very altar; the latter, standing behind the bend [of Isaac's knee] and drawing with his left hand the lad's hair towards himself, stoops over the face that looks piteously up to him as he points the murderous sword grasped in his right hand. Already the edge of the sword touches the body, when a voice sounds unto him from God prohibiting the deed.

St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epist.* XVI:[50] Imagine one of us wished to see the story of Abraham painted on a panel (*pinax*): how would the painter have represented him? Would he [have shown him] enacting all the aforementioned things[51] simultaneously, or [shown] the same man [acting] severally and differently, i.e., in different manners and in many places? I mean, for example, that he would be mounted on his ass, accompanied by the lad and followed by his servants; then again, after the ass and the servants had been left below, and he had loaded the wood on Isaac, he would be holding the knife and the fire in his hands; and then again the same man, but in a different guise, after he had bound the lad on the wood-pile, would be brandishing the knife in his right hand for the slaying. Yet it is not a different Abraham that appears in different guises in many parts of the painting, but he is the same man everywhere, the painter's art being adapted to the actual requirements. For it would have been neither reasonable nor possible to see him accomplishing at once all the aforementioned things.

Votive Images

***Cod. Paris gr.* 1447, fols. 257–58**[52] After the demise of these men,[53] the said emperor Leo and his most-pious spouse Veronica[54] honored in a fitting fashion the holy garment[55] of Our Lady the Mother of God by dedi-

49 PG 46, 572 C.
50 PG 77, 220; Mansi, XIII, 12–13.
51 Cyril had just quoted the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac from Gen. 22.
52 Ed. A. Wenger, *Rev. des études byz.*, X (1952), 54 ff. The manuscript is of the 10th century.
53 The patricians Galbius and Candidus who, according to tradition, discovered the Virgin's veil at Capernaum and brought it to Constantinople. This is said to have taken place between 471 and 473.
54 Leo I (457–74) and his wife Verina.
55 This was called *pallium* or *omophorion* and appears to have been a veil such as women wore to cover their head and shoulders.

[illegible] church with all glory and veneration and depositing [illegible] aforementioned casket which was of pure gold and precious [illegible] together with the glorious and most holy treasure [it contained]. [illegible] of the reliquary (*soros*) they placed this inscription, namely [illegible] "[illegible] offered this honor to the Mother of God, they have secured [illegible] might of the Empire."

The [illegible] emperors beloved of God and Christ set up in the cibo-[illegible] of the reliquary (?)[56] an image, all of gold and precious stones, in [illegible] [are represented] Our Lady the immaculate Mother of God [illegible] throne and on either side of her Leo and Veronica, the latter [illegible] her own son, the young emperor Leo,[57] as she falls before Our Lady the Mother of God, and also their daughter Ariadne. This image has stood from that time onward above the *bema* of the holy *soros*. . . .

We shall mention also the following . . . namely that in those days the aforesaid illustrious men[58] Galbius and Candidus dedicated with all glory and honor an enormous image of . . . Our Lady the Mother of God. To the right and left of her upon this image are two angels and, on either side, St. John the Baptist and St. Conon. The same Galbius and Candidus stand in an attitude of prayer and thanksgiving before God and Our Lady the Mother of God. This icon is set up in her venerable church between the two diaconica.[59] . . .

Pictures of Miracle

Theodore Lector, *Hist. eccles.* as excerpted by St. John Damascene:[60]

[198] *An Arian called Olympius went to the bath attached to the Helenianae palace at Constantinople and made an obscene remark about the Holy Trinity. He proceeded, as usual, from the* caldarium *to the* [illegible] *of the bath. The latter had a pool of water fed by a stream which had its origin in the church of St. Stephen. When he entered the pool, an angel appeared and poured boiling water over him so that his flesh fell from his bones and he died.*

When the event came to the attention of the emperor (who was Anastasius), he directed that the miracle should be painted on an image

56 The text, as printed by the editor, is meaningless. We have followed the variant reading of Cod. Palat. gr. 317 which suggests that the image in question was on the ciborium that was set over the reliquary. This was in the *bema* of a special chapel also known as the *soros*.
57 Leo II who reigned from Jan. to Nov. 474 was in fact the son of Ariadne and Zeno, hence the grandson of Leo I and Verina.
58 The title *illustris (endoxos)* was borne by all the chief officers of the Empire, both civil and military, and was more or less equivalent to the dignity of patrician.
59 Once again we follow the variant reading of the codex Palatinus.
60 PG 86, pp. 221 ff.

to be affixed above the water basin. A certain deacon John, who was *ekdikos*[61] of the aforesaid holy church of Stephen the First Martyr—a man who constantly showed his zeal on behalf of the doctrine of Consubstantiality—had another image painted, but not in plain form: for he wrote down [on it] the names of the men who were bathing and saw [the miracle], and where each of them resided, and also [the names] of the bath attendants. This image has lasted as a memorial down to the present, being affixed in the portico (*embolos*) of the *tetrastoon*[62] of the church we have repeatedly mentioned.

The author goes on to relate that the Arians suborned the administrator of the palace to remove the image from the bath on the pretext that it was being damaged by damp. The emperor, however, noticed its absence and had it reinstated. The administrator was stricken by a dreadful disease and died in front of the image.

Crosses not to be Trodden on

Cod. Just. I, viii, Edict of Theodosius II (427):[63] Since it is our diligent concern to observe by all means the religion of the highest God, we decree specifically that no one shall be permitted to carve or to paint the sign of Christ the Saviour upon the floor or the pavement or on marble slabs placed on the ground; nay, any such that are found shall be removed, and whoever attempts to contravene our statutes shall be punished by the gravest penalty.

Decoration of Martyria

St. Gregory of Nyssa,[64] ***Laudatio S. Theodori:***[65] When a man comes to a place like the one, where we are gathered today, wherein are the memorial and the holy relic of the Just one, he is at once inspired by the magnificence of the spectacle, seeing, as he does, a building splendidly wrought both with regard to size and the beauty of its adornment, as befits God's temple, a building in which the carpenter has shaped wood into the likeness of animals and the mason has polished slabs to the smoothness of silver. The painter, too, has spread out the blooms of his art, having

[61] Legal representative of the church (*defensor ecclesiae*).
[62] I.e., in one of the four porticoes surrounding the atrium of the church.
[63] The prohibition of representing crosses on the floor lest they be trodden on was reiterated by the Quinisext Council in 692, Canon 73, Mansi, XI, 976.
[64] Some doubt has been expressed concerning the authorship of the Laudation which must have been delivered at the martyrion of St. Theodore at Euchaita, near Amaseia in the Pontus.
[65] PG 46, 737.

depicted on an image (*en eikoni*)[66] the martyr's brave deeds, his resistance, his torments, the ferocious faces of the tyrants, the insults, that fiery furnace, the martyr's most blessed death and the representation in human form of Christ who presides over the contest—all of these he wrought by means of colors as if it were a book that uttered speech, and so he both represented the martyr's feats with all clarity and adorned the church like a beautiful meadow; for painting, even if it is silent, is capable of speaking from the wall and being of the greatest benefit. As for the mosaicist, he made a noteworthy floor to tread on.

Pseudo-Basil,[68] ***Homilia XVII, in Barlaam martyrem:***[69] Arise now, O splendid painters of the feats of martyrs! Magnify with your art the General's mutilated appearance (*eikôn*).[70] Adorn with your cunning colors the crowned Athlete whom I have but dimly described. May I behold the struggle between the hand and the fire,[71] depicted more accurately by you [than I have done]; may I behold the Wrestler, as he is represented more splendidly on your image. Let the demons weep. . . . Let the burnt yet victorious hand be shown to them once again. Let Christ, too, who presides over the contest be depicted on the panel.

Asterius of Amaseia, ***Description of a painting of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia:***[72] 1. The other day, gentlemen, I was studying that marvellous author Demosthenes—I mean the work of Demosthenes in which he assails Aeschines with vehement arguments.[73] Having spent a long time on this speech, I became congested in my mind and had need of recreation and a walk so as to relax a little the strain of my spirit. So I left my chamber and, after a short stroll in the marketplace in the company of friends, I proceeded to God's temple to pray in peace and quiet. When I arrived there and was walking down one of those roofed passages, I saw a painting that captivated me entirely—a work of art you might

[66] We have given a literal translation, although it appears that more than one image is meant.
[67] St. Theodore was burnt on a pyre.
[68] The attribution of this Homily to St. Basil of Caesarea is very ancient since it is already made by St. John Damascene. Some scholars have ascribed it to St. John Chrysostom. In any case, the Homily appears to have been delivered at Antioch at the martyrion of St. Barlaam. See H. Delehaye, *Analecta Bolland.*, XXII (1903), 132.
[69] PG 31, 489.
[70] Barlaam is believed to have suffered martyrdom at Antioch in the early 4th century during the persecution of Galerius and Maximinus Daia. The title *stratêgos* is applied to him figuratively: he was a general in Christ's army.
[71] Barlaam was forced to hold some incense and stretch his hand over the sacrificial fire. If he let the incense drop, he would have sacrificed to the pagan divinity; but he did not flinch and allowed his hand to be burnt.
[72] Ed. F. Halkin, pp. 4 ff.
[73] This could refer either to the speech *On the Embassy* or, more probably, to the famous speech *On the Crown*.

have ascribed to Euphranor[74] or another one of the ancients who raised painting to such great heights by making pictures that were all but alive. So, if you please,—and indeed we have time for a story—I shall describe the painting to you. For we, men of letters, can use colors no worse than painters do.

2. Once upon a time, when a tyrant was persecuting the true believers, a holy virgin called Euphemia who had consecrated her chastity to God willingly elected to suffer death. Her fellow-citizens[75] who shared the religion for the sake of which she died, in token of their admiration both for the courage and the sanctity of the virgin, built her a tomb near the church; there they deposited her coffin and honor her with a yearly festival that is frequented by all the people. The ministers of God's mysteries celebrate her memory in speech and act, and they studiously expound to the assembled crowds how it was that she accomplished her contest of endurance.[76] As for the painter, who was himself a believer, he artfully delineated the whole story on canvas (*en sindoni*) to the best of his ability and set up this sacred picture in proximity to the tomb. This is how the work of art is conceived.

3. High up on a throne sits the judge and looks at the virgin with bitter hostility: for art, when it so wishes, can convey the semblance of wrath even by means of inanimate matter. All round stand the government guard and many soldiers and secretaries holding tablets and styluses; one of the latter, lifting up his hand from the wax, looks intently upon the accused, his face tilted, as if he were urging her to speak louder lest he make blameworthy mistakes, straining, as he does, to hear. The virgin stands dressed in a grey tunic and himation showing thereby that she is a philosopher,[77] and withal a comely one, for such was the artist's intention; but I see rather the virtue that adorns her soul. Two soldiers are leading her to the magistrate, one dragging her forward, the other urging her from behind. The virgin's appearance shows a mixture of modesty and firmness; for, on the one hand, she bows her head down as if ashamed of being gazed at by men, while on the other, she stands undaunted and fearless in her trial. Up to that time I used to appreciate other painters—for instance when I saw the incident of that woman of

74 Famous painter, sculptor and art critic of the 4th century B.C.

75 The reference is to Chalcedon. Asterius must have been residing in that town, across the water from Constantinople, when he composed his *Description*.

76 I.e., her martyrdom. Like all Byzantine rhetoricians, Asterius uses cumbersome circumlocutions to avoid specifically Christian terms.

77 By avoiding the use of bright colored garments Euphemia was showing her serious preoccupation with "philosophy," i.e. religion. On the Christian reinterpretation of the term "philosophy," see A.-M. Malingrey, *Philosophia* (Paris, 1961).

[redacted]
ier expression between pity and anger; and whereas one of her eyes mani
ests her wrath, the other denotes the solicitous and frightened mother
Now, however, I have transferred my admiration from that [artistic] co
cept to this painting; and I greatly prize the artist for his having blende
well the bloom of his colors, combini [redacted]
ons that are contradictory by nature [redacted]
The representation proceeds: a nu [redacted]
xcept for their short tunics, are beginning their work. One of the
izes the head and lays it down, thus preparing the virgin's face fo
unishment; another stands by and cuts out her pearly teeth. The instru
ents of torture are hammers and drills. But now tears come to my eye
nd sadness interrupts my speech: for the artist has so clearly painted th
rops of blood that you might think them to be tric [redacted]
rom her lips, and so you might depart weeping [redacted]
Prison comes next. There, once again, is the hol [redacted]
nts, sitting alone and stretching out her arms to heaven as she call
n God to help her in her distress. And while she prays, there appear
bove her head the sign which Christians are wont to worship and [redacted]
r own, the symbol, I say, of the passion that was awaiting he [redacted]
Shortly thereafter, in another place, the painter has kindled a [redacted]
nd he has given substance to the flame by high-lighting it on this side
nd that with red color. In the midst of the fire he has set her, stretching
er arms to heaven and far from showing any pain on her [redacted]
e was about to depart to the blessed life of the spirit [redacted]
t this point the painter stayed his hand[79] and I [redacted]
. You may now, if you please, go and see the painting [redacted]
udge exactly how far I have fallen short [redacted]

eligious Portraitur

[redacted] You have bee
o greatly affected not only by his name,[81] but even by his bodily trait
For what you have done with regard to names, you did also with regar
o his image. Indeed, many [redacted]

[redacted] ium (1st century B.C.). He could hardly have seen the original, which wa
n Rome (Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV, 136), but may have seen a replica of it. On th
other hand, he may be simply reproducing from a literary [redacted]
appreciation of this painting: cf. *Anthol. graec.* XVI, 135–41 [redacted]
79 In other words, the painting was made up of four [redacted]
before the magistrate; (2) Torture; (3) Prison; (4) Ex [redacted]
80 PG 50, 516. Meletius was bishop of Antioch, 360–8 [redacted]
81 Meletius [redacted]

[redacted] n phialais) and on the walls of their rooms and in many other places so hey might not only hear his holy name, but also see everywhere his hysical traits, thus having a double consolation after his demise.

t. Nilus of Sinai, ***Letter to Heliodorus Silentiarius.***[83] *Nilus recounts* [redacted] *to of Ancyra. A man from Galatia became* [redacted] *her with his son. In the course of* [redacted] *arian raid the young man was taken into captivity together with* [redacted] *onks, while his father took refuge in a cave. Both addressed prayers t t. Plato who hastened to deliver the young man.*

Both of them had their prayers heard, the father in his cave on the nountain, the son in captivity, and, behold, our Plato suddenly appeared n horseback [redacted] the young man who was then awake, bringing along [redacted] out a rider. The young man recognized the [redacted] n seen his portrait on images. Straightaway [Plato] ordered him to arise from among all the other [captives], and to [redacted] he horse; his fetters fell apart like a spider's web, and he alone was delivered by virtue of his prayer. . . .

Theodorus Lector, *Hist. eccles.* I, 1 *as excerpted by Nicephoru* [redacted] ***istus Xanthopoulos:***[84] He [Theodore] says . . . that Eudocia[85] [redacted] Pulcheria[86] from Jerusalem an image of the Mother of God painted b he apostle Luke.

Theodorus L[redacted]**ctor, *Hist. eccles.* I, 15 (*excerpt*):**[87] At the time o [redacted] withered the hand of a painter who dared to pai [redacted] aviour in the likeness of Zeus. Gennadius healed him by mean [redacted] author[89] says that the other form of Christ, viz. the one wit [redacted]

[redacted] ur Lord Christ. It was said that the commission of [making] the imag was given to him by a pagan and that under the guise of the Saviour's name he painted the hair of the head parted so as to leave the face

[redacted]

83 PG 79, 580–81; Mansi, XIII, 32–33.

84 PG 86, 165 A.

85 Wife of Theodosius II. She retired to Jerusalem in 443 and lived [redacted] r death in 460.

86 Da[redacted]ghter of the Emperor Arcadius, she acted as regent [redacted] 414 to 416 and died in 453.

87 PG 86, 173. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, ed. de Boor, I, 11[redacted]

88 Pat[redacted]arch of Constantinople (458–71).

89 [redacted] a paraphra [redacted]

[redacted] would think that the veneration was directed to the aviour [redacted] ***Hist. religiosa* XVI:**[91] It is said that this man[92] became so [redacted] the great [city of] Rome that in the porches of all the work- [redacted] little images of him so as to obtain protection and [redacted]

Opposition to Religious Art

[redacted] ***Testament:***[93] You may tell me that the Fathers [redacted] the idols of the gentiles, whereas we make images of saints as [redacted] memorial to them and worship these in their honor. It is surely on this [redacted]ssumption that some of you have dared to plaster walls inside the house [redacted] and by means of different colors to represent pictures of Peter and [redacted] nd Paul, as I see by the inscription of each of these false images, set [redacted] through the stupidity of the painter and according to his own incli- nation.[94] Now, first of all, let those who believe that by so doing they are [redacted] the apostles, learn that they are rather dishonoring them. For [redacted] when he insulted the false priest, called him a plastered wall.[95] [redacted] then, let us by means of our virtue erect their commandments into [redacted] of them. But, you will say, we contemplate their images so as to be eminded of their appearance. Did they ever command you to do so? We ave already convicted [redacted] orance. . . .

"We know," [redacted] "that, when He shall appear, we shall be [redacted] Him."[96] Paul, too, has proclaimed the saints to be conformed [to the [redacted] of the Son of God.[97] [redacted]

Epiphanius of Salamis, *Letter to the Emperor Theodosius:*[99] Which [redacted] the ancient Fathers ever painted an image of Christ and deposited it in [redacted]

91 Text: PG 82, 1473 A; Mansi, XIII, 73B.

92 St. Symeon the Stylite (d. 459).

93 Ed. G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzant. Bilderstreites* Breslau, 1929), p. 67, Fr. 2. The authenticity of the Epiphanian fragments hough challenged by some critics, is now generally accepted.

94 Ed. Ostrogorsky, pp. 68–69, Fr. 6, 7.

95 Acts 23:3 ("whited wall" in the King James version).

96 I John 3:2.

97 Rom. 8:29.

98 Matt. 22:30.

99 Ed. Ostrogorsky, pp. 71–72, Fr. 23–27.

Christ by painting him on door curtains? Which one of them ever made an example and a spectacle of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and the other prophets and patriarchs, of Peter, Andrew, James, John, Paul and the other apostles by painting them on curtains or on walls? . . .

Furthermore, they lie by representing the appearance of saints in different forms according to their whim, sometimes delineating the same persons as old men, sometimes as youths, [and so] intruding into things which they have not seen.[100] For they paint the Saviour with long hair, and this by conjecture because He is called a Nazarene, and Nazarenes wear long hair. They are in error, those who try to attach stereotypes to Him: for the Saviour drank wine, whereas the Nazarenes did not.

In this, too, they lie that they invent things according to their whim. These impostors represent the holy apostle Peter as an old man with hair and beard cut short; some represent St. Paul as a man with receding hair, others as being bald and bearded, and the other apostles as being closely cropped. If then the Saviour had long hair while His disciples were cropped, and so, by not being cropped, He was unlike them in appearance, for what reason did the Pharisees and scribes give a fee of thirty silver pieces to Judas that he might kiss Him and show them that He was the one they sought, when they might themselves or through others have known by the token of His hair Him whom they were seeking to find, and this without paying a fee? . . .

Seest thou not, O most God-loving emperor, that this state of things is not agreeable to God? Wherefore I entreat thee . . . that the curtains which may be found to bear in a spurious manner—and yet they do so—images of the apostles or prophets or of Lord Christ Himself should be collected from churches, baptisteries, houses and martyria and that thou shouldst give them over for the burial of the poor, and as [for the images] on walls, that they should be whitewashed. As concerns those that have already been represented in mosaic, seeing that their removal is difficult, thou knowest what to ordain in the wisdom that has been granted to thee by God: if it is possible to remove them, well and good; but if it proves impossible, let that which has already been done suffice, and let no one paint in this manner henceforth. For our fathers delineated nothing except the salutary sign of Christ both on their doors and everywhere else. . . .

Epiphanius, *Letter to John, bishop of Aelia*:[101] I have heard that certain persons have murmured against us [for the following reason]. As we were proceeding to the holy place of Bethel in order to join thy Honor, and when we came to the village called Anautha, we saw a lighted

100 Coloss. 2:18.
101 Ed. Ostrogorsky, pp. 74–75, Fr. 31. John II (386–417) was bishop of Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina).

...vels that soar to a great height[115] be assigned in our discours... that brazen pedestal which represents, as it were, the shape of a tower ...ng pyramid or the complex crest of a Persian tiara. This exceptiona... work of sculpture, a four-legged marvel compacted of four bronze flanks ...adorned on all sides with moulded forms (*zôa*)[116] filled with tendrils, frui... and pomegranates, was erected by the elder Theodosius.[117] Naked Erote... embroiled in the vine, stand there smiling sweetly and making fun fron... on high of those that walk below; while other youths, squatting down ...blow upon the winds through brazen trumpets, one to the west, anothe... to the south. Upon the summit, a brazen marvel with brazen wings i... blown all round: it represents the shrill blasts of the winds that breath... upon the City. . . .

...cetas Choniata, *De signis* 4, p. 856 f.: And that four-sided bronze ...onstruction that soars into the air and almost vies in height with the ...great columns that rise in many parts of the City—who has not marvelled at the variety of its adornment once he has set his eyes upon it? Every kind of singing bird was represented there, warbling its vernal song; the labors of farmers were also depicted, their pipes and buckets, bleating sheep and gambolling lambs; underneath the sea was spread out and one could see schools of fish, some being caught, while others overcame the nets and freely fled back into the deep. In groups of two and three unclothed Erotes were engaged in mutual combat, pelting each other with apples and shaking with sweet laughter. This four-sided [monument] terminated in a sharp point after the manner of a pyramid, upon which was set a female statue that revolved at the slightest gust of the wind; for this reason it was called Anemodoulion. And yet, this beatiful monument was consigned by them[118] to the melting-pot. . . .

Imperial Statues

...thol. *Graeca* IX, 802, *On an effigy of the Emperor Marcian*: Thou ...seest this image (*morphê*);[119] it resembles a live horse, and Marcian bestrides it, the King of humankind. He has stretched out his right arm and he urges on his swift steed against the enemy who holds it up on his head.[120]

115 As a prelude to his description of the church of the Holy Apostles ...Constantine gives an account of the Seven Wonders of Constantinople.
116 Referring presumably to a scroll filled with frui...
117 Theodosius I (379–95).
118 The Crusaders in 1204.
119 Presumably a statue.
120 In other words, Marcian was represented trampling on the head of the vanquished enemy.

Malalas, pp. 400–401: The same John[121] melted down the bronze statues of the main street (*plateia*) of Constantinople which Constantine had collected for their excellence from all other cities and brought to Constantinople to serve as decoration. Having melted these, the said John made a statue of extraordinary size of the emperor Anastasius and erected it upon the great column that stood vacant at the Forum Tauri, as it is called.[122] This column previously carried a statue of the elder Theodosius, but the statue alone was thrown down by eathquake.[123]

Statues of Magistrates

***Anthol. Graeca*, XVI, 48:** I am Proclus, the son of Paul, a native of Byzantium, who was snatched in my flower by the Imperial court [and placed] in the hall of Justice that I may be the faithful spokesman of the mighty Emperor.[124] This bronze proclaims the reward of my labors. Father and son enjoyed similar [honors], yet the son surpassed his begetter by [winning] the consular staffs.[125]

Imperial Portraits

***Cod. Theod.* XV, 1, 44. *Decree of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius addressed to the Prefect of Constantinople in 406*:** If it proves necessary at any time to repair either porticoes[126] or any other buildings that have been damaged by reason of their old age or some fortuitous cause, it shall be permitted, without consulting Our Clemency, but with due reverence, to take down Our images or those of former emperors. After the buildings have been repaired, these shall be brought back and set up once again in their proper places.

***Anthol. Graeca* IX, 799.** [Inscription] on the porphyry column which is at the Philadelphion:[127] Muselius[128] is devoted to the Emperor: his public works proclaim it, his deeds give mighty proof of it. He has given Rome[129]

121 John the Paphlagonian, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, appointed in 498.
122 Corresponding to modern Beyazit.
123 In 480.
124 Proculus, a man noted for his probity, was *quaestor sacri palatii* under Justin I. He died c. 526.
125 Proculus must have been made honorary consul since he does not appear in the *fasti* of ordinary consuls.
126 I.e., porticoes lining the main streets.
127 A quarter of Constantinople. Recent discoveries have established its position near modern Aksaray. See R. Naumann. "Der antike Rundbau beim Myrelaion," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XVI (1966), 210.
128 Possibly the same as the Musellius who is recorded as Grand Chamberlain in 414 under Theodosius II.
129 I.e., Constantinople.

a Museum,[130] and within its halls he has depicted a marvellous image of the Emperor—an honor to the Muses' servants, an adornment for the City, the hope of youth, the instrument of virtue, and riches for good men.

St. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* XVII, 44 f:[131] For the Son is in the Father, and the Father is in the Son inasmuch as the former is like the latter, and the latter like the former, and in this lies their unity. So that by the peculiarity of their persons they are one and one, but in the community of their nature both are one. How then, i[redacted] one, are there not two Gods? Because the imperial imag[redacted] emperor, and yet there are not two emperors: neither [redacted] asunder nor is the glory divided. And as the authority [redacted]r us is one, so the glorification that we address to it is one [redacted] since the honor shown to the image is transmitted to its model. [redacted]t the image is shown here by virtue of imitation, so the Son is ove[redacted] His nature. For just as in hand-made objects the likeness is by[redacted] of form (*kata tên morphên*), so in the case of the divine nature tha[redacted]ncompounded the unity is in the communion of the Godhead.

St. John Chrysostom, *Ad illuminandos* [redacted] II:[132] [redacted]s the painters do, so should you do now. For they put [redacted] and trace white lines all round, and sketch the images [redacted] before applying the true colors, they erase certain thin[redacted] freedom, and draw others in their place, thus correcting their mistakes and transposing what had been done faultily. But after having applied the paints, they are no longer able to erase or redraw anything, because that would damage the beauty of the image and such action would be blameworthy.[133] You, too, should do the same: consider your soul to be an image.

St. John Chrysostom, *In dictum Pauli, Nolo vos ignorare*:[134] What, then, is a shadow, and what is truth? Come, let us consider the images that painters delineate. You have often seen an imperial image covered with blue color.[135] Then the painter traces white lines and makes an emperor, an imperial throne, horses standing by, a bodyguard, and fettered enemies lying underneath. As you see these things being sketched (*skiagraphoumena*), you do not know the whole [composition], and yet you are not entirely ignorant of it, but you know faintly that a man and a horse are being drawn. Who the emperor is, and who the enemy, you do

130 I.e., some kind of educational auditorium. The following two epigrams (Nos. 800, 801) are devoted to the same building. They make it clear that the "Museum" was partly built anew, partly restored by Muselius.
131 PG 32, 149.
132 PG 49, 233.
133 This observation seems to apply to encaustic painting.
134 PG 51, 247.
135 Referring to the blue background which was applied first so as to cover the entire panel.

not know exactly until the true colors have been applied, making the image clear and distinct.[136]... In the same way you should consider the Old and New Testaments....

St. John Chrysostom, *In inscriptionem altaris* II:[137] Have you not observed this on imperial images, namely that the image itself representing the emperor is placed at the top, while underneath, at the foot (*choinix*), are inscribed the emperor's trophies, victories and achievements?

Deeds of Emperors

Joannes Lydus, *De magistr.* II, 20: [Constantine, Praetorian Prefect under Leo I (457–74)] built a magnificent forum (*agora*) which he named after Leo and represented there the latter's elevation in mosaic. Having, as I have said, constructed this at his own expense, and being resident in that neighborhood, ... he assigned to his office[138] a modest house for the use of his successors....

***Ecclesiastical History* known as that of Zacharias Rhetor VII, 1:**[139] Marinus of Apamea, an able man, who was chartulary, depicted him [Justin I] in the public baths (*dêmosion*) as he had come from the *castrum* of Mauriana[140] in Illyricum to Constantinople, with all the history of his entry into Constantinople, and how he had been advanced from step to step until he became king. And, when this same Marinus was accused on this ground and came into danger, trusting in his astuteness, he readily rendered an answer, saying, "I have represented these things in pictures for the consideration of the observant and the understanding of the discerning, in order that magnates and rich men ... may not trust in their power and their riches ... but in God, who raises the poor man out of the mire and places him as chief over the people[141]...." And he was accepted, and escaped from the danger.[142]

136 There is here an untranslatable play on words: the sketch (*skiagraphia*) stands for the shadow (*skia*), i.e., the Old Testament, the veracity (*alêtheia*) of the colors for truth, i.e., the New Testament.

137 PG 51, 71.

138 Lydus explains that prior to this the Praetorian Prefect had no official residence.

139 Reproduced with a few changes from *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), p. 189.

140 Presumably a mistake for Bederiana, Justin's native village.

141 Ps. 113:7–8.

142 Marinus, one of the most trusted advisers of the Emperor Anastasius, was twice Praetorian Prefect, the second time in 519, after the accession of Justin I.

Pictures of Charioteers

Anthol. graeca XVI, 380–37. *The pictures described in the following anonymous epigrams may have been made during the lifetime of the charioteers represented, i.e. towards the end of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th. The epigrams themselves are considerably later, as indicated by the lêmma.*

380. On Porphyrius of the Blue faction. The pictures of these men[143] were painted on the ceiling of the imperial box (*prokuptikon*).[144] These were charioteers of ancient times:

Having overcome on earth every other charioteer, Porphyrius, the wonder of the Blue faction, has been nobly carried up to race even in the air. This man, who has vanquished all the chariot-drivers of the world, mounts up that he may race with the Sun.

381. On the same:

Porphyrius, the son of Calchas, held the reins of the Blues when his cheeks were first covered with down. I am amazed how full of life the [artist's] hand has painted his horses. If he strikes them again, I am sure he will race once more to victory.

382. On Faustinus of the Green faction:

Observe the device of this building's architect: had he not covered it with a strong roof, Faustinus, the former glory of the Greens, would have risen to heaven, racing his horses as if he were alive. For take away the roof, and he will reach into the air.

383. On the same:

This is Faustinus, the charioteer of olden times. The Green faction found him and completely forgot how to be defeated at the races. He was, as you can see, an old man, but he had the strength of a youth and never lost.

384. On Constantine, charioteer of the Whites:

Constantine, who draws the reins of the Whites, had he not been confined by this solid building, would have reached first to heaven and beaten the other three. Dead as he is, you might have seen him travelling through the air, but art convinces me to see him as being alive.

385. On the same:

This was Constantine who in olden times drove with agility the quadriga of the White color. Ever since he has been snatched away by Charon, the sun of horse-racing contests has set, and gone are the pleasure and skill of the circus.

143 I.e., the four charioteers referred to in this group of eight epigrams.

144 In the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

illustrious Eurycianus[150] that Your Eminence needed this man for the adornment of your house, I sent him immediately to Your Sagacity so that the work might be entrusted to the best member of the profession and that he might return to me as quickly as possible. . . .

150 Eurycianus was a tribune. Theodoret wrote him a letter of consolation (*Ep.* XLVII) upon the death of the latter's daughter.

The reign of Justinian may be regarded as representing both the culmination of Early Christian art and as the bridge linking the Early Christian period to the Byzantine Middle Ages. The emperor Anastasius had been a great builder;[1] Justinian, whose ambition it was to reconstitute the Roman Empire in its entirety, was an even greater one. Procopius' treatise, De aedificiis, *has preserved for us the staggering catalogue of buildings that were erected during Justinian's reign in various parts of the Empire. A great part of these was defensive or utilitarian in character, but particular attention was also paid to public monuments and to churches. In Constantinople alone Justinian is said to have built or restored upward of thirty churches.*[2]

In the excerpts given below we have concentrated our attention on three geographical areas: Syria-Palestine, Constantinople, and Ravenna. We begin with the cathedral of Edessa (modern Urfa in Turkey), a square building covered with a windowless dome, probably supported on corner squinches. The Syriac hymn that provides the description of this church is of particular interest in that it also offers a symbolical interpretation, partly cosmic, partly Biblical.[3] *We pass on to Gaza, where two churches are described in considerable detail by the rhetor Choricius. St. Stephen's was a timber-roofed basilica provided with a gallery. Its decoration, like its architecture, was conservative: scenes of land and marine life on the western façade and Nilotic landscapes in the aisles. Only at the east end, perhaps on the triumphal arch, were holy personages represented: St. John the Baptist on the left, St. Stephen on the right, and, presumably, Christ in the middle. By contrast, St. Sergius' was a domed building with a square central bay, reduced by squinches to an octagon. The pictorial decoration was very elaborate: in the apse the Virgin Mary, attended by the patron saint and the founder of the church; in the vaults a lengthy New Testament cycle comprising at least twenty-four separate scenes, with particular emphasis on the miracles of Christ; in the drum of the dome the Prophets.*[4]

We have devoted considerable space to St. Sophia at Constantinople since it represents the supreme creation of Byzantine architecture. The account of Procopius is the only one that describes Justinian's original church before the collapse of its dome in 558;[5] *it also furnishes some*

1 The evidence is conveniently collected by C. Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I*, Orient. Christ. Analecta, CLXXXIV (Rome, 1969), 188 ff.

2 Cf. G. Downey, "Justinian as a Builder," *Art Bulletin*, XXXII (1950), 262 ff.

3 Cf. A. Grabar, "Le témoignage d'une hymne syriaque. . . ," *Cahiers archéologiques*, II (1947), 41 ff.

4 Possibly the earliest recorded instance of Prophets in the drum of a dome. At a later period this became standard practice.

5 G. Downey, "The Composition of Procopius, *De aedificiis*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXVIII (1947), 181 ff. argues, uncon-

valuable information on the difficulties that were encountered in the process of construction. The rebuilding, completed in 562, which gave the church its present form, is explained by Agathias and by the Byzantine chronicles. Paul the Silentiary, writing immediately after the rededication in 562, gives a detailed description which, in spite of its poetic bombast, is remarkably accurate. He is also our best source for the chancel screen, the ciborium, the ambo, the lamps, the altar cloth—in short, the furnishings of the church. One feature deserving of comment is that, apart from a large mosaic cross in the center of the dome, we are not told anything of a pictorial decoration. Is this omission significant or accidental? The suggestion has been made that Justinian deliberately eschewed religious pictures, perhaps to placate his Monophysite subjects; yet, there were certainly images on the chancel screen and on the altar cloth.

With the passage of time, the "image" of St. Sophia grew to legendary proportions; and since it was precisely this legendary image that cast its shadow across the Middle Ages, well beyond the confines of the Byzantine Empire, we thought it necessary to reproduce the Narratio de S. Sophia, *a text that enjoyed an immense popularity, both in the original and in translation. The serious student may be disconcerted to find that the architect of St. Sophia is called Ignatius, that the first rebuilding is dated to the reign of Justin II (565–78), and that angels are constantly coming down from heaven to assist Justinian in his labors; yet he will discover in this text a number of valuable indications that are not available elsewhere.*

Next to St. Sophia, the second greatest church that Justinian built at Constantinople was that of the Holy Apostles. This was of cruciform shape, closely resembling St. John at Ephesus; S. Marco in Venice is a later copy of it. We have reproduced the account of Procopius, but have omitted for reasons of space those of Constantine Rhodius and Nicholas Mesarites which are extremely prolix.

For Ravenna, we naturally have to turn to Agnellus whose antiquarian zeal recorded whatever was left to see in that city in the early 9th century. In addition to his account of works of art that are still extant, like the procession of martyrs in S. Apollinare Nuovo, we may note the emphasis he places on precious furnishings, e.g., the silver ciborium of the Ursiana and those fabulous altar cloths on which were represented in gold and purple "the whole story of our Lord" and portraits

vincingly to my mind, that this work was composed in 559/60 and that Procopius deliberately omitted to mention the collapse of 558. The date of composition proposed by E. Stein (553–55) seems preferable to me: *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II (1949), 837. However that may be, there can be little doubt that Procopius' description of St. Sophia refers to Justinian's original building.

[redacted]m we left a while [redacted] now is the tim[redacted] f her delivery, and she has given birth to a child without recourse t[redacted]h a man. 52. [redacted]t altered with the pall[redacted] as just given birth, and, indeed, for the first time; deemed worthy o [redacted]oth[redacted] was ju[redacted]its natural pains. Why [redacted]we to say of the c[redacted] the [redacted]These, w re told, had been prop[redacted]so it [redacted] 3. Their ears ringing with a sound from heaven, the shepherds hav[redacted] heir animals stray; th[redacted] left their sheep grazing on the sward, by he spring, and, entrusting to their dog the protection of the flo[redacted] aise [redacted]en and strain their ears in the direction of the ound, each standing in whatever pose he find[redacted]" Some o[redacted]spensed with their crooks, but one, though ot using his for the flock, is resting his left arm upo[redacted] raising is right arm, I suppo[redacted]y. 54. A second all, indeed, was not needed: sight, they say, is surer than hearing [redacted] s[redacted] showing them he direction of the babe. The sheep, because of their innate stupidity [redacted]ven turn towards the [redacted]hem are bending dow[redacted] owards the grass, while others are drinking from the aforementioned [redacted]ing. The dog, however, being[redacted]ostile to strangers, appe[redacted] o be looking intently at the extraordinary apparition. 55. Such are the [redacted]ails the painter has set down. M[redacted]hile the sh[redacted] n their way by a star, dimly reflected in the spring whose waters are tirred up by the sheep. 56. So much f[redacted]r the shepherds. As for [redacted] man, bowed down by the infirmity of his age,[49] I would have pitied him reatly h[redacted]h to see the adven[redacted] infant. he mother, too, is present holding the child in her arms. He, like the ol[redacted]le in walking, ye[redacted]joyful countenance.

[redacted]ou are desirous o[redacted]et and preoccupied with he guests. It was a wedding, and the bridegroom was entertaining the [redacted]followers whom he had[redacted]ited. In the middle of the dinner the ar arose that a shortage of wine would both spoil the enjoyment of the [redacted]nd bring the banq[redacted]shameful conclusion.[50] 58. The Protec or of the universe, who had been invited along with His Mother, change n her suggesti[redacted]ter into wine suitable for a wedding o one of the servants lifts up a jar of water and makes it his task to fil he amphoras, while anoth[redacted]wl and offers it round to th uests, beginning at the usual place. It seems the wine has a fine bouque[redacted]

[redacted]ciation to[redacted]pherds, apparently a separate scene, [redacted] that the Magi were apparently omitted.

[redacted]hariah. The scene[redacted]stion is the Pre[redacted].

50 The marriage feast at Cana.

for the man who has just drunk it betrays his pleasure by his flushed appearance. Such is the incidental token of His love of man.

59. Further on, He attends a woman consumed by a lingering disease.[51] One of His disciples had married her daughter, and, at this man's request, He heals the woman, neither by using incantations nor "laying on soothing ointments,"[52] but simply by stretching out His hand.

60. Next to this is a man with a withered hand, whose disease had baffled the learning of physicians. Scarcely able to stand for pain, he prays to be cured and at once his prayer is fulfilled.[53]

61. But who is this mournful man? What suffering prompts his supplication? A trusted servant has run life's allotted course and has nearly reached the end. It is a terrible misfortune for the master that a good servant should unexpectedly be departing. Leaving him at home, the master has come to plead on his behalf. He [Christ] listens and promises to dispel the trouble: without dispute the disease yields to His word.[54]

62. Next, there is a woman who had placed all her hopes in an only son, had reared him to the flower of his youth in the expectation of being supported by him, but, by a common fate, was cheated of her hope. The youth is being carried to his grave, accompanied by wailing women. 63. These are crowded together so as to partially obscure each other, but if you were to separate them, you might imagine that each one of them was painted entire. Perhaps they were standing apart before the miracle took place, but when they saw the Saviour bring the youth back to life, they rushed together to look, and now their rejoicing naturally exceeds the measure of their sorrow at his death: for a man's death is to be expected, but for a dead man to come back to life is more than one can hope.[55]

64. These [miracles] chasten a woman of loose life. She renounces the great wickedness of her ways and comes to scorn her soft raiment, her wonted golden ornaments, the fashioning of her hair, since beauty is no longer of importance to her. Instead, she venerates and honors Him with the riches she has, by pouring ointment over His feet.[56]

65. Endowed with so much power, He has even the winds under His control. The boat is tossed about; the onset of the waves does not allow it to maintain an even keel and drags one side down. But He rebukes the raging winds and, immediately, they tremble at His threats.[57] For no longer "doth the crash of waves beset my ears."[58]

51 The healing of Peter's mother-in-law.
52 *Iliad,* XI, 830.
53 The healing of the man with the withered hand.
54 The healing of the centurion's servant (Matt. 8:5; Luke 7:2).
55 The raising of the widow's son at Nain (Luke 7:12).
56 The sinning woman's faith (Luke 7:37).
57 The stilling of the storm.
58 *Iliad,* X, 535.

[redacted] surprising th[redacted]sea and [redacted] companion. The latt[redacted]plete in the [redacted] of him that is hidd[redacted] under water, [redacted]at emerges is as yet [redacted] a youth who is not[redacted]yet neither serv-[redacted]iend nor kinsm[redacted]ed expres-[redacted]t is clear that [redacted]ntending to [redacted]n to one [redacted]e painting has put fe[redacted]which [redacted] him to [redacted]e is trying to force hi[redacted]s not [redacted]us of the [redacted] caused by his viole[redacted]ing. 68. [redacted]ve here the painte[redacted]sion of the demon.[60] 69. I pity your suffering, boy, b[redacted]ate as much as I pity you: for the cure of grave [redacted]causes gre[redacted]

[redacted] Do you s[redacted]t woman touching the hem of His gar[redacted]r form of[redacted] away as the wo[redacted]th w[redacted]ncessant [redacted] He, without e[redacted]round[redacted] of her [redacted]

[redacted]s a secon[redacted]ggle [redacted] a second [redacted]tory. [redacted] was very [redacted]ly die[redacted]e effects hi[redacted]this th[redacted]y [redacted] being [redacted]o cry readily at[redacted]ht of a [redacted]em [redacted] to her neighbo[redacted]atter is [redacted]sported [redacted]

72. Ar[redacted]God in human disguise. [redacted]n it [redacted]nts, [redacted]ble w[redacted] come to an end[redacted]nd [redacted]mbraces his Ma[redacted]al—and surrenders [redacted]s you see, to [redacted]s his own. Th[redacted]m and lead Hi[redacted]passionate envy into an a[redacted]e time knew the falseness [redacted]ment of a ruler, he [redacted]nt on accomplishing,[redacted]

59 Christ and Peter walking on the sea.
60 The healing of the demoniac.
61 The healing of the woman with the issue of blood.
62 The raising of Lazarus.
63 The Last Supper.
64 The Betrayal; possibly also Christ before Caiaphas. The description of the Passion cycle is so condensed that it is difficult to tell how many separate scenes are involved.

pleased. [redacted] Him [redacted] Him away and, [redacted] to wipe away the [redacted] to the guilty, [redacted] to bring him [redacted] his hands.[65] 75. After [redacted] outrages on Him [redacted] themselves—since [redacted] insult God—they [redacted] consigned Him [redacted], between two [redacted] 76. They also [redacted] He, making [redacted] of their [redacted] His immortality [redacted] to the [redacted] about [redacted], is borne up to [redacted]-place escorted by a heavenly choir.[67] And so He has not belied [redacted] ancient [redacted] compass about the central part of the ceiling.[68]

[redacted]

St. Stephen at Gaza[69]

[redacted]

Choricius, *Laudatio Marciani* II, 28 ff:[70] 28. [redacted] to the eastern gate of the city. If you go downhill from [redacted] and turn [redacted], you [redacted] guide to show you the way: the [redacted] is visible from afar [redacted]cient guide. 29. [redacted] are booths which [redacted]action, but this [redacted] When you have reached the porch and mounted a great [redacted] of steps [redacted] built on an emi[redacted] you see a su[redacted] retreat[71] which, thanks to a gentle [redacted] the [redacted]. 30. Cooled [redacted] winds, [redacted] like [redacted] by means of two towe[redacted] flank the entranc[redacted] is adorned with [redacted] (*protemanisma*) boasting four [redacted]coes, each side being of equal length. 31. The squareness of the plan is indicated by the columns which are [redacted]ber [on each [redacted] and evenly spaced: they [redacted] from the same city,[73] have the

[redacted]

[redacted] judgment of Pilate.

[redacted] Crucifixion.

67 The guard at the tomb; the Resurrection; Christ appearing to the [redacted] the Ascension. [redacted] presence i[redacted] Christ's [redacted] to the women: [redacted] this see J. D. Breckenri[redacted] "Et prima vidit," [redacted]

[redacted] Prophets [redacted], represented in the drum o[redacted].

[redacted] delivered between 536 and [redacted] presumably [redacted]

70 Ed. Foerster [redacted]eig, pp. 35 ff. In additio[redacted] translations by Hamilton and Abel (above, p. 60, n. 26), §§ 37–46 have also been translated by G. Downey in E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 155 ff.

71 I.e., the atrium.

72 The use of a tower or two flanking towers attached to the structure of a church (often to the west façade) is frequent in the Christian architecture of Syria and Palestine. It has been suggested that, like the Moslem minarets, they were used to call the faithful to prayer. See H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria* (Princeton, 1929), pp. 210 f.; J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), pp. 235 ff.

73 I.e., from the same quarry or locality.

same form, and gleam "whiter than snow," as the poets say.[74] Those, however, that face east surpass the others in height by the same measure that the latter rise above the ground:[75] it being, I suppose, proper that the columns nearest the church should have some pre-eminence. 32. At this moment the fabric of the colonnades serves a purely aesthetic purpose, but at the other feast of the Martyr, which is celebrated in the winter,[76] they serve to protect visitors from being drenched if rain happens to be falling. 33. The colonnade that is in front of the church gives access, on the right, to a building used by the servitors of the sacred ministry, and, on the left, to a space reserved for the bishop's salutation,[77] where, as Homer would have said, are "shrill winds blowing,"[78] Boreas and Zephyr, vines and clear water and all kinds of plants; where the good priest, with voice flowing sweeter than Nestor's (according to Homer),[79] greets the entrants with open heart and smiling countenance. 34. These things the colonnade offers you on right and left, while on its eastern wall you may see everything the sea brings forth and all the tribute of the earth: there is hardly anything you could look for that is not included, and a great deal that you would not expect to see.[80] How faithful to nature is this art! What splendid, what charming execution! This rich adornment befits a sanctuary of such golden opulence.

35. Starting at this colonnade, the church stretches far to the east. Its width is such as the length requires, its length is dictated by the width, and the height of the roof proportionate to both. This, namely the proportion of the fabric, is its first and greatest glory; the second consists in the contribution made by all the famous marble-bearing countries. 36. A double benefit accrues from these marbles: [they provide] the church [with material] for decorous workmanship and are a source of honor to the cities that sent them, since a man who has seen them and admired them at once praises the donor. Among the columns, the most remarkable are the four, dyed by nature with the color of imperial raiment,[81] which define the area forbidden to those who are not members of the holy ministry.[82]

37. But the east side, with its elaborate craftsmanship, has drawn me in, rather too quickly, not allowing me to dwell on the exterior

74 *Iliad*, X, 437.

75 In other words, the eastern colonnade of the atrium was twice as tall as the others.

76 The feast of Stephen is celebrated by the Eastern Church on December 27.

77 Cf. p. 61.

78 *Odyssey*, IV, 567.

79 *Iliad*, I, 249.

80 Presumably a mosaic representing various kinds of marine and land life.

81 I.e., made of porphyry.

82 I.e., the presbytery.

moisture of the masonry had sufficiently abated. They followed these precepts and thereafter the structure survived secure. From this work the emperor enjoys a kind of added testimonial.

The Rebuilding of St. Sophia (558–62)[105]

Agathias, *Hist.* V, 9, 2–5: He [Justinian] showed particular concern for the Great Church of God which he rebuilt in a conspicuous and admirable form from the very foundations after it had been burnt down by the populace, and endowed it with exceedingly great size, a majestic shape and an adornment of various quarried materials. He compacted it of baked brick and mortar, and in many places bound it together with iron, but made no use of wood so that the church should no longer prove combustible. The architect and creator of all these things was that Anthemius whom I mentioned not long ago. When, as a result of the earthquake,[106] the church had lost the central part of the roof—the part that towers over all the others—the emperor repaired it in a more secure fashion and raised it to a greater height. Since Anthemius had long been dead, Isidore the Younger and the other engineers reviewed among themselves the former design and, by reference to what had remained, they judged the part that had fallen down, i.e., its nature and its faults. They left the east and west arches as they were in their former places, but in the case of the north and south ones they extended inward that part of the construction which lies on a curve and gradually increased its width so as to make them [the north and south arches] agree more closely with the others and observe the harmony of equal sides. In this way they were able to reduce the unevenness of the void and to gain a little on the extent of the space, i.e., that part of it which produced a rectangular figure. Upon these [new] arches they set up once again that circle or hemisphere (or whatever else they call it) which dominates the centre of the building. As a result, the dome naturally became more even and well-curved, conforming altogether to the [correct geometrical] figure. It was narrower and steeper so that it did not strike spectators with as much amazement as before, but it was far more securely set up.

Theophanes, A.M. 6051, pp. 232–33:[107] On May 7th of this year [558], a Tuesday, in the 5th hour, while the dome of the Great Church was

105 Cf. G. Millet, "La coupole primitive de Ste. Sophie," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, II (1923), 599 ff.; K. J. Conant, "The First Dome of St. Sophia and its Rebuilding," *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, I (1946), 71 ff.

106 The earthquake occurred in December 557, and the collapse of the dome in 558.

107 This passage probably derives from the complete Chronicle of Malalas now lost. It also appears, with minor variations, in the abbreviated Malalas, CSHB, pp. 489 f. and in other chronicles. Cedrenus, CSHB, I, 676 f. adds: "H

[illegible]ed—for it had been cracked by the preceding earthquakes—while the Isaurians[108] were at work, the eastern part of the vault [illegible] of the holy sanctuary fell down and crushed the *ciborium*, altar-table [illegible] the *ambo*. The engineers were censured because, [illegible] they had not made the suspension [secure] from [illegible] tunnelled the piers upholding the dome, and for this [illegible] not held. Having grasped this, the most-pious emperor [illegible] to receive the dome,[109] and so the dome was built and [illegible] than twenty feet in height as compared to the original [illegible]

[illegible] in the same indiction [illegible][110] took place the second [illegible] Great Church. As compared to its old form, [illegible] was thirty feet higher[111] and they also made two addi[illegible] [illegible], the northern and the southern one.

[illegible] St. Sophia after the Rebuilding

[illegible] IV, 31: [Justinian] erected [illegible] many [illegible]fully [illegible] churches at Constantinople. [illegible] he [illegible] great [illegible] such as has [illegible] that is so beautiful and glorious [illegible] shall attempt [illegible] the best of my abil[illegible] [illegible] temple. The [illegible] the palace consists of [illegible] (*[illegible]alides*) and [illegible] to so great a heig[illegible] who [illegible] from the ground are at a loss to comprehend how [illegible] (*[illegible]sphairion*) [illegible] completed,[112] while it would be a bold [illegible] indeed who, once he was [illegible] top, would attempt to gaze down to [illegible] bottom. The arches [illegible] from the ground to the roof-covering. [illegible], on right and [illegible] of Thessalian marble are set out [illegible] supporting, by means of other, similar columns, galleries which enable anyone who so wishes to look down upon the [illegible] is from there that the empress, when she attends celebration[illegible] the performance of the holy mysteries. The arches that face the [illegible] and the setting sun have been left open, so that nothing stands in [illegible] way [of the contemplation] of these wonderfully great proportions.

[Justinian] also made outside the church the four spi[illegible] opposite the interior piers. These he planted in the ground and raised as far as the dome so as to buttress the arches. At the same time he made the altar-table, an incomparable work."

108 C. C. Mango, "Isaurian Builders," *Polychronion: Festschrift* [illegible] *Dölger* [illegible] (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 358 ff.

109 [illegible] correct.

110 The reconsecration was celebrated on December 24, 562.

111 [illegible] the previous passage ("more than twenty feet").

112 [illegible] "find it difficult to arrive at the termination of the cupola."

The porticoes (*stoai*) of the said galleries, by means of columns and little arches complete this huge edifice from the bottom upwards.[113]

In order to make clearer the wonderful qualities of this building, I have resolved to set down in feet its length, width and height, as well as the opening and height of the arches, which are as follows: the length from the door facing the holy conch (wherein the bloodless sacrifice is celebrated) to that conch itself is 190 feet; the width from north to south is 115 feet; the height[114] from the summit of the cupola to the ground is 180 feet; the width of each arch is . . . feet;[115] the breadth from east to west is 260 feet; the width of their opening (*emphôton*) is 75 feet.[116] There are, furthermore, two other remarkable porticoes[117] in the direction of the setting sun and beautifully adorned open courtyards on all sides. He, too, it was [118] that wrought the incomparable church of the Holy Apostles wherein emperors and priests are given the burial that is due to them.

Paulus Silentiarius, *Descr. S. Sophiae.* *This poem was recited early in 563 soon after the second consecration of the church on December 24, 562*: [186] Now the wondrous curve (*antux*) of the half-sphere, although resting on powerful foundations, collapsed[119] and threw down the entire precinct of the sacred house. . . . [198] Yet, the broad-breasted fane did not sink to the foundations, . . . but the curve (*keraiê*) of the eastern arch slipped off and a portion of the dome was mingled with the

113 The exact meaning of this sentence is not clear to me.

114 Literally "depth."

115 Lacuna in text.

116 Evagrius's figures raise some difficulties. The total interior length of the nave from east to west (including the apse) is 80.24 m. which gives us 260 ft. if 1 ft. = 30.9 cm. We obtain precisely the same result for the height of the dome, 55.75 m = 180 × 0.309. So far, we are on the right track: the dome of St. Sophia is laid out within a square of 30.95 m., i.e., exactly 100 ft. Evagrius's north-south measurement can apply only to the width of the nave. Measured from one colonnade to the other (which is the maximum width), this amounts to 32.88 m., i.e., about 106 ft. instead of the 115 that Evagrius gives. The discrepancy is considerable, unless one supposes that there has been a scribal error and that the original figure was 105. The distance from the west door to the "conch" (190 ft.) makes sense only if by "conch" we understand the chancel-barrier; if this is so, we have a valuable indication of the position of the chancel-barrier. But what are we to make of the *emphôton*, the width of which is given as 75 ft., i.e., 23.175 m.? This cannot apply to the opening of the major arches which, as we have just seen, is 100 ft. We can only conclude that Evagrius has in mind the east-west distance between the major piers which amounts to 22.25 m., i.e., 77.5 ft. On the Byzantine foot see P. A. Underwood, "Some Principles of Measure in the Architecture of the Period of Justinian," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, III (1948), 64–74; E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), pp. 13–16.

117 The two narthexes.

118 I.e., Justinian.

119 In 558. See p. 78.

dust: part of it lay on the floor, and part—a wonder to behold—hung in mid-air as if unsupported. . . .

Paul goes on to describe how Justinian was roused to action; how he visited the ruins of the church and praised the skill of the architect Anthemius; how the church was rebuilt and re-consecrated.

[352] To the east there open the triple spaces of circles cut in half, and above, upon the upright collar of the walls, springs up the fourth part of a sphere: even so, above his triple-crested head and back does a peacock raise his many-eyed feathers. Men of the craft in their technical language call these crowning parts conches. . . . [362] The middle one is girded by the priestly seats and steps ranged in a circle: the lowest part of them is drawn close together round a center on the ground, but as they rise, they widen out little by little until they reach the stalls of silver,[120] and so in ever-increasing circles they wheel round the curved wall (*keraiê*) that stands above them. This conch is followed by an arch resting on strong foundations, rectangular in plan and curved at the top, not in the form of a sphere, but in that of a cylinder cleft in twain.[121] Two other columned conches, one on each side, extend westward like bent arms stretched out to embrace within these mansions the band of singers.[122] These conches are lightened by columns speckled with purple bloom, ranged in half circle, holding aloft on golden capitals an overwhelming burden—columns which were once produced by the sheer (?)[123] crags of Thebes on the Nile. Thus on either side are the bases of each arcade upheld on twin columns, and along the traces of the threefold conch skilled workmen did bend from below smaller arches cut in half,[124] under whose springing the columns have set their capitals, bound with bronze, carved, overlaid with gold, driving away all fear. Upon the porphyry columns stand others from Thessaly, splendid flowers of verdant stone. Here are the fair galleries for the women, and they have the same form that may be seen below, except that they are adorned not with two columns, but with six Thessalian ones. One may wonder at the resolve of the man who upon two columns has bravely set thrice two, and has not hesitated to fix their bases over empty air. All the space between the Thessalian columns he has fenced with stone closures upon which the women may lean and rest their laborious elbows.

120 I.e., the silver seats of the bishop and clergy which occupied the topmost tier of the synthronon.

121 The rectangular space of the bema directly in front of the apse.

122 The two eastern exedras.

123 Literally, the "well-greaved crags." The adj. *euknêmis* is regularly applied by Homer to the Achaeans; it does not appear to be very suitable for the crags of Thebes.

124 Literally "half-finished" (*hêmiteleis*). I do not understand the use of this epithet here if Paul is speaking, as he seems to be, of the three arches subtended by the two porphyry columns in each exedra.

[398] Thus, as you direct your gaze towards the eastern arches, you behold a never-ceasing wonder. And upon all of them, above this covering of many curves, there rises, as it were, another arch borne on air,[125] spreading out its swelling fold, and it rises to the top, to that high rim upon whose back is planted the base of the divine head-piece of the center of the church.[126] Thus the deep-bosomed conch springs up into the air: at the summit it rises single, while underneath it rests on triple folds; and through fivefold openings pierced in its back it provides sources of light, sheathed in thin glass, through which, brilliantly gleaming, enters rosy-ankled Dawn. . . . .

[417] And towards the west one may see the same forms as towards the dawn, though there is a small difference. For there in the central space it is not drawn in a curved arc as it is at the eastern end, where the priests, learned in the art of sacrifice, preside on seats resplendent with an untold wealth of silver; at the west is a great, richly-wrought portal, not a single one, but divided into three at the boundary of the temple.

[425] By the doors there stretches out a lengthy porch receiving those that enter beneath wide gates. It is as long as the wondrous church is broad; this space is called *narthex* by the Greeks. Here through the night there rises a melodious sound pleasing to the ears of Christ, giver of life, when the psalms of God-fearing David are sung with alternate voice by the sacred ministers. . . . [438] Into the porch there open wide seven holy gates inviting the people to enter; one of these is on the narrow face of the narthex facing south, and another on the northern wing; the rest on their groaning pivots are opened by the warden in the west wall which marks the end of the church.

Whither am I driven? What wind, as upon the sea, has carried away my roaming speech? The center of the church, the most renowned place, has been neglected. Return, my song, to behold a wonder scarcely to be believed when seen or heard.

[448] Next to the eastern and western circles—those circles cut in half—next to the twin Theban columns, are four sturdy piers *(toichoi)*, bare in front, but on their sides and powerful backs they are bound by supports from opposite directions. The four of them rest on strong foundations, fixed on solid stones. In their midst the workman has mixed and poured the dust of fire-burnt stone,[127] thus binding them together by the builder's art. Above them are bent arches of measureless size like the many-colored rounded bow of Iris: one turns towards the wing of Zephyr, another to Boreas, another to Notus, another rises upright towards fiery Eurus. Each arch joins its unshaken foot to that of the neigh-

125 The main eastern arch.
126 The dome.
127 Presumably crushed brick, which was a regular component of Byzantine mortar. Cf. p. 111 and n. 280.

[580] On the south you will find a long aisle altogether similar to the northern one, yet it has something in addition: for it contains a space separated by a wall, reserved for the Ausonian emperor on solemn festivals. Here my sceptered king, seated on his customary throne, lends his ear to [the reading of] the sacred books.[138]

[586] And whoever mounts up will find that the women's aisles on either side are similar to those below; but the one that runs above the narthex, to the west, is not like the other two.

[590] Now on the western side of this divine church you will see a court encompassed by four aisles:[139] one of these is joined to the narthex, while the others are open wide, and various paths lead to them. At the prized center of the wide court stands a spacious fountain, cleft from the Iasian peaks;[139a] from it a burbling stream of water, forced by a brazen pipe, leaps into the air—a stream that drives away all suffering, when the people, in the month of the golden vestments,[140] at God's mystic feast, draw by night the unsullied waters in vessels. . . .

[605] Upon the carved stone wall[141] [illegible]ter everywhere. These have been produced by the quarries of sea-girt Proconnesus. The joining of the cut marbles resembles the art of painting for you may see the veins of the square and octagonal stones meeting so as to form devices: connected in this way, the stones imitate the glories of painting.

And outside the divine church you may see everywhere, along its flanks and boundaries, many open courts. These have been fashioned with cunning skill about the holy building that it may appear bathed all round by the bright light of day.

[617] Yet who, even in the thundering strains of Homer, shall sing the marble meadows gathered upon the mighty walls and spreading pavement of the lofty church? Mining [tools of] toothed steel [illegible] from the green flanks of Carystus[142] and have cleft the spe[illegible] stone, sometimes rosy mixed with white, sometimes gleam[illegible] purple and silver flowers.[143] There is a wealth of porphyry ston[illegible] with little bright stars that had laden the river[illegible]. You may see the bright green stone of La[illegible] the glittering marble

138 This space was known as the *mêtatorion (mutatorium)*.
139 The atrium. Paul treats the so-called exonarthex as forming [illegible] the four porticoes of the atrium.
139a I.e., made of Carian marble on which see p. 63, n. 43.
140 January, when the consuls in their golden ceremonial robes entered on their year of office. The "mystic feast" is Epiphany.
141 It is not clear whether Paul is referring here to the walls of the atrium or to the fountain that stood at its center.
142 See p. 32 and n. 38.
143 Also mentioned by St. Gregory of Nyssa, PG XLIV, 653D, 657B; this was probably the same as Docimian or Synnada marble, which came in a variety of colors.

with wavy veins found in the deep gullies of the Iasian peaks, exhibiting slanting streaks of blood-red and livid white; the pale yellow with swirling red from the Lydian headland; the glittering crocus-like golden stone which the Libyan sun, warming it with its golden light, has produced on the steep flanks of the Moorish hills; that of glittering black upon which the Celtic crags, deep in ice, have poured here and there an abundance of milk; the pale onyx with glint of precious metal; and that which the land of Atrax[144] yields, not from some upland glen, but from the level plain: in parts vivid green not unlike emerald, in others of a darker green, almost blue. It has spots resembling snow next to flashes of black so that in one stone various beauties mingle.

[647] Before one comes to the glitter of cut mosaic, the mason, weaving together with his hands thin slabs of marble, has figured upon the walls connected arcs laden with fruit, baskets and leaves, and has represented birds perched on boughs.[145] The twining vine with shoots like golden ringlets winds its [redacted] and weaves a spiral chain of clusters. It [redacted] overshadow somewhat with its twisting wreaths [redacted] it.[146] Such ornament surrounds the beauteous [redacted] the high-crested columns, underneath the projecting stone edge, is deployed a tapestry of wavy acanthus, a wandering contexture of spiky points, all golden, full of grace.[147] It encompasses marble shields—discs of porphyry glittering with a beauty that charms the heart.

[664] The hills of Proconnesus have gladly offered their back to the life-giving Queen[148] to cover the entire floor, while the polish of Bosporus stone[149] shimmers gently, black with an admixture of white.

[668] The roof is compacted of gilded tesserae from which a glittering stream of golden rays pours abundantly and strikes men's eyes with irresistible force. It is as if one were gazing at the midday sun in spring, when he gilds each mountain top.

[673] Indeed, our emperor, who has gathered all manner of wealth from the whole earth, from barbarians and Ausonians alike,[150] did not deem a stone adornment sufficient for this divine, immortal temple in which Rome has placed all its proud hopes of joy. He has not spared,

144 Thessaly.
145 This applies to the *opus sectile* decoration in the spandrels of the gallery colonnade.
146 In fact, this decoration is very nearly flat.
147 Referring to the spandrels of the main colonnade on the ground floor.
148 Meaning, presumably, the church.
149 Bosporus marble is mentioned once again in the *Description of the Ambo, below*, p. 93, where it appears to be the same as Proconnesian (white with blue veins), but this cannot be so here. There was a black Bithynian marble, the same that is now quarried at Adapazarī.
150 I.e., his own Roman subjects.

too, an abundant enrichment of silver. The ridge of Pangaeus[151] and the cape of Sunium[152] have opened all their silver veins, and many a treasure-house of our lords has yielded its stores.

[682] For as much of the great church by the eastern arch as was set apart for the bloodless sacrifice is bounded not with ivory or cut stone or bronze, but it is all fenced under a cover of silver. Not only upon the walls which separate the priest from the choir of singers has he set plates of naked silver, but the columns, too, six sets of twain in number, he has completely covered with the silver metal, and they send forth their rays far and wide. Upon them the tool wielded by a skilled hand has artfully hollowed out discs more pointed than a circle,[153] within which[154] it has engraved the figure of the immaculate God who, without seed, clothed himself in human form. Elsewhere it has carved the host of winged angels bowing down their necks, for they are unable to gaze upon the glory of God, though hidden under a veil of human form—He is still God, even if He has put on the flesh that removes sin. Elsewhere the sharp steel has fashioned those former heralds of God[155] by whose words, before God had taken on [redacted] tidings of Christ's coming spread abroad. Nor has the artist forgotten the images of those who abandoned the mean labors of their life—the fishing basket and the [redacted] and those evil cares in order to follow the command of the [redacted] King, fishing even for men and, instead of casting for fish, [redacted] nets of eternal life.[156] And elsewhere art has depicted [redacted] Christ, the vessel of eternal life, whose holy womb did [redacted] Maker. And on the middle panels of the sacred [redacted] a barrier round the sanctified priests, the carver's [redacted] one symbol that means many words, for it combines the [redacted] Empress and Emperor: It is like a shield with a boss in [redacted] part has

151 In eastern Macedonia. This is a literary [redacted] and does not indicate that the gold and silver mines of Pangaeus, famous [redacted], were exploited in Justinian's time.
152 In Attica. The mines were at Laurium.
153 I.e., oval. S. G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *Art Bulletin*, XXIX (1947), 8 f. proposes a textual emendation, namely *oxutorous* [instead of *oxuterous*] *kukloio . . . diskous*, i.e. "sharply chased circular discs." He does so on the grounds that oval or ellipsoid frames were rarely used in Early Christian art.
154 Or "in the midst of which." I fully agree with Xydis that the discs, whether oval or circular, must have been on the entablature, and not on the columns of the chancel screen, and that the figure of Christ occupied the central disc above the chancel door. Several examples of entablatures decorated in this manner have recently come to light in Asia Minor. They usually comprise figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist, forming a central group, flanked symmetrically by angels, apostles and other saints.
155 The prophets.
156 The apostles.

been carved the sign of the cross.[157] And the screen gives access to the priests through three doors. For on each side the workman's hand has made a small door.[158]

[720] And above the all-pure table of gold[159] rises into the ample air an indescribable tower, reared on fourfold arches of silver. It is borne aloft on silver columns on whose tops each of the four arches has planted its silver feet. And above the arches springs up a figure like a cone, yet it is not exactly a cone: for at the bottom its rim does not turn round in a circle, but has an eight-sided base, and from a broad plan it gradually creeps up to a sharp point, stretching out as it does so eight sides of silver. At the juncture of each to the other stand long backbones which seem to join their course with the triangular faces of the eight-sided form and rise to a single crest where the artist has placed the form of a cup. The lip of the cup bends over and assumes the shape of leaves, and in the midst of it has been placed a shining silver orb, and a cross surmounts it all. May it be propitious! Above the arches many a curve of acanthus twists round the lower part of the cone, while at the top, rising over the edge, it terminates in upright points resembling the fragrant fruit of the fair-leaved peartree, glittering with light.[160] Now where the sides of the base are fitted to each other are fixed silver bowls, and in each bowl is set a candelabrum like a candle that burns not, expressing beauty rather than giving light; for these are fashioned all round of silver, brightly polished. Thus the candle flashes a silver ray, not the light of fire. And on columns of gold is raised the all-gold slab of the holy table, standing on gold foundations, and bright with the glitter of precious stones.

[755] Whither am I carried? Whither tends my unbridled speech? Let my bold voice be restrained with silent lip lest I lay bare what the eyes are not permitted to see. But ye priests, as the sacred laws command you, spread out with your hands the veil dipped in the purple dye of the Sidonian shell and cover the top of the table. Unfold the cover along its four sides and show to the countless crowd the gold and the bright designs of skilful handiwork. One side is adorned with Christ's venerable form. This has been fashioned not by artists' skilful hands plying the knife, nor by the needle driven through cloth, but by the web, the

[157] I.e., the parapet slabs of the chancel screen were decorated with the monogram of Justinian and Theodora. Note that the latter had died in 548. It is not entirely clear whether this monogram was itself constructed in the form of a cross or whether it accompanied an ordinary cross.

[158] The chancel projected into the nave, so that it had three enclosed sides with a door in each.

[159] The altar-table.

[160] This sentence is rather obscure.

[illegible] of the foreign worm,[161] changing its colored threads of many [illegible]. Upon the [illegible] legs is a garment reflecting [illegible] glow under the [illegible] of rosy-fingered Dawn, and a chiton, dyed purple by the Tyrian [illegible] shell, covers the right shoulder beneath its well-[illegible] fabric; for at [illegible] point the upper garment has slipped down while, pulled up across the side, it envelops the left shoulder. The forearm and hand are thus laid bare. He seems to be stretching out the fingers of the right hand, as [illegible] His immortal words, while in His left He holds the book of [illegible] message—the book that tells what He, the Lord, accomplished with [illegible] mind when His foot trod the earth. The whole robe [illegible] with gold; for on it gold leaf has been wrapped round thread after the manner of a pipe or a reed, and so it projects above the lovely cloth, [illegible] bound with silken thread by sharp needles.[162] On either side stand [illegible] of God's messengers: Paul, replete with divine wisdom, and the mighty doorkeeper of the gates of heaven who binds with both heavenly and earthly bonds.[163] One holds the book pregnant with holy ordinance, the other the form of the cross on a golden staff. And both the cunning web has clothed in robes woven of silver; while rising above their immortal heads a golden temple enfolds them with three noble arches fixed on four columns of gold.[164] And on the hem of the veil shot with gold, [illegible] has figured the countless deeds of the Emperors, guardians of the [illegible]: here you may see hospitals for the sick, there sacred fanes.[165] And elsewhere[166] are displayed the miracles of heavenly Christ, a work suffused with beauty. And upon other veils you may see the monarchs joined together, here by the hand of Mary, the Mother of God, there by that of Christ, and all is adorned with the sheen of golden thread.

[illegible] Thus is everything clothed in beauty; everything fills the eye with wonder. But no words are sufficient to describe the illumination in the evening: you might say that some nocturnal sun filled the majestic temple with light. For the deep wisdom of our Emperors has stretched from the projecting stone cornice, on whose back is planted the foot of

[161] Literally the "barbarian ant," i.e., the silkworm. It may be recalled that the silkworm was introduced into the Byzantine world in 552, probably from Sogdia. At the time when Paul the Silentiary was writing silk was still for the most part imported from Persia.

[162] This is an accurate description of the kind of broidered stuff that was called *[illegible]noton*. Cf. p. 156.

[163] Cf. Matt. 18:18.

[164] In other words, the figures of Christ, Peter and Paul were enclosed within a triple arcade.

[165] I.e., hospitals and churches that had been founded by Justinian. As [illegible] often been pointed out, this description provides a remarkable analogy [illegible] Daniel and St. Peter Egyptian textiles, now in Berlin, on whose borders are represented various churches and miracles of Christ. See [illegible] Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 91 ff.

[166] Probably on the same altarcloth.

the temple's lofty dome, long twisted chains of beaten brass, linked in alternating curves by many hooks. From many points on a long course these fall together to the ground, but before they reach the floor, their lofty path is checked and they form an even choir. And to each chain he has attached silver discs, suspended circle-wise in the air round the central confines of the church. Thus, descending from their lofty course, they float in a circle above the heads of men. The cunning craftsman has pierced the discs all over with his iron tool so that they may receive shafts of fire-wrought glass[167] and provide pendent sources of light for men at night. Yet not from discs alone does the light shine at night, for in the [same] circle you will see, next to the discs, the shape of the lofty cross with many eyes upon it, and in its pierced back it holds luminous vessels.[168] Thus hangs the circling choir of bright lights. You might say you were gazing on the effulgent stars of the heavenly Corona close to Arcturus and the head of Draco.

[834] Thus the evening light revolves round the temple, brightly shining. And in a smaller, inner circle you will find a second crown bearing lights along its rim, while in the very center another noble disc rises shining in the air, so that darkness is made to flee.

[839] By the aisles, too, next to the columns on either side, they have placed in sequence single lamps, one apart from the other, and they go through the whole length of the far-stretching church. Beneath each they have placed a silver vessel resembling a balance pan, and in the center of this rests a cup of burning oil. There is not, however, one equal level for all the lamps, but you will see some high, some low, in lovely curves of light as they glitter step-wise on their aerial path, suspended from twisted chains. In this manner does the twin-pointed Hyas shine, fixed in the parted forehead of Taurus. One may also see ships of silver bearing a luminous freight; suspended, they sail through the bright air instead of the sea, fearing neither the south wind nor late-setting Boötes.[169] And down on the floor you will see elegant beams running between two-horned [supports] of iron, upon which extends a row of lights, servitors of the temple, connected by straight rods of red color.[170] Some of these are on the floor, where the elegant columns have set their bases, while others are above the capitals, following the long path of the walls.[171]

167 I.e., narrow glass beakers.

168 I.e., cross-shaped *polukandêla*. The "eyes" are for the insertion of the little glass lamps. Objects of this kind form part of the recently discovered and as yet unpublished silver treasure from Kumluca in southern Turkey.

169 For a bronze lamp in the form of a ship, see *Handbook of the Byzantine Collection* [at Dumbarton Oaks] (Washington, D.C., 1967). No. 107.

170 Paul is describing here some kind of floor lamp, but its exact nature is not clear to me.

171 I.e., in the galleries.

by fair children, heralds of wisdom.[183] What is roof for those below is a floor for those above: the latter is like a spreading plain, made level for the feet of mortals, while the underside has been cut out and hollowed by the [illegible] so that it rises from the sacred capitals, curving over with artful adornment, like the bent back of the hard-shelled tortoise or the oxhide shield which the agile warrior holds over his helmet when he leaps in the Pyrrhic dance. The rough face (*metôpon*) of this whole [illegible] has been girded all round with silver, and upon it the skilful craftsman has traced with the point of his iron tool various trees and fair flowers, interspersed by the soft leaves of ivy, with its clusters and buddings [illegible].

[126] To provide an unshakable foundation for the entire [structure]—the steps, the floor and the columns themselves—the skilled craftsman has raised underneath it a stone base, the height of a man's foot above the ground. And with a view to broadening this footing of the structure, they have placed on either side, round the belly (*gastêr*) in the middle, half-circles of stone, and the space that has been thus cut off they surrounded with separate columns erected in semicircular formation. Thus the whole belly is widened by means of four rich columns on either side, to north and to south, and the cavern[184] is, like a house, protected on all sides by an encircling fence of stone. The lovely columns have been cut[185] by the masons' strong picks in the Phrygian land, by the Mygdonian heights; and when a man beholds the bloom of the stone, he would say that white lilies have been mingled with rose cups and the soft petals of the short-lived anemone. In places the marble is rosy with a tinge of white, in others it is mostly white with a tinge of fiery red; here and there the veins are traversed by fine sinews and, mingling together, they flush with purple, like the blood of the Laconian shell.[186]

[148] First then they laid round about, at the bottom, the cunningly wrought plinth (*krêpis*) resplendent with twisting [illegible], and upon it they firmly set up stone pedestals (*bômoi*)[187] cut from the rich quarries of the Bosporus.[188] They gleam white, but on their white skin a blue vein winds a scattered path. The mason has beautifully carved the eight sides of each pedestal, while the steel carving-tool has bound its round neck [with a collar] so that the column should rest securely upon the circular [top of] the pedestal that is affixed underneath. Throughout

183 Literally, "wherein the heralds of wisdom [i.e., the priests] raise the propitious song that is rich in fair children." Paul surely means to say that a choir of boys was stationed beneath the platform of the ambo.

184 I.e., the hollow space under the platform of the ambo.

185 Literally "raised."

186 See, p. 85, n. 143.

187 Cf. p. 29, n. 25.

188 See, p. 86, n. 149.

the space of the church shines the glory of each column set on its polished base, like a white cloud tinged by the ruddy rays of the sun rising above the horizon.

[163] In this manner was the half-circle ringed with four columns; and the other half was surrounded with another four columns, thus fashioning a fair mantle of stone round the well-wrought cavern *(antron)*. Observing that there were three intervals between the four columns, the skilful man made a fence for them of marble from the Sacred City,[189] right upon the plinth (*krêpis*) and he gently curved this [fence of] fair stone. It was indeed proper that this crown of stone on the goodly floor of the undefiled fane should bear a sacred name. And in the outermost interval he inserted a stout door, slightly curved, through which the man entrusted with the holy books enters the precinct of the cave. Now the form of the cavern is identical both towards Garamas on the south[190] and towards the Arimaspian wind[191] as regards the columns, the plinth and the fence. The doors, however, the workmen have not fixed in the same place, but one they have set westwards and the other eastwards—the western one to the north, while the southern door faces east. Moreover the fence-walls do not stand to the same height as the columns, but they rise above the beauteous pavement as much as to hide the men in the depths of the cave. But the eight columns with their deeply carved capitals project above the fence-wall, even though both [columns and fence] are firmly planted upon one and the same level foundation plinth. The gilded capitals shine all round with a brilliant glow, like high peaks which the golden-rayed disc of the sun strikes with its arrows.

[191] And all the capitals that rise aloft are crowned above in circled order by an embracing rim of beams,[192] which binds the columns together in one curve, though each is separate from the other. Fixed upon the rim you may see trees with fiery clusters, glittering afar with flowers of flame from their silver branches. Nor does each sapling shoot up at random, but it rises in the form of a regular cone with many loops covered with lights: starting with a wide circle, it gradually diminishes until it comes to a sharp point. And the fair girdle you see—the one that forms the rim[193]—is colored on all sides with sapphire dust and crowned with golden ivy-leaves. Towards the home of Zephyr and towards fiery-winged Eurus,[194] there are fixed upon the rim two silver crosses, one on

189 Hierapolis in Phrygia.
190 The Garamantes were an African tribe.
191 I.e., north. The Arimaspi were a Scythian people.
192 I.e., an architrave. Paul surely does not mean to say that this was wooden, as some commentators have supposed.
193 Meaning, once again, the architrave which had a design of gold ivy leaves on a blue ground.
194 I.e., west and east.

[illegible] lapse of time and was not expected to stand much longer. The [illegible]mperor Justinian demolished it entirely, being eager not merely to [illegible] it, but to make it more remarkable with regard to size and beauty. [illegible] carried out his intention in the following manner. Two straight arms [illegible] made, intersecting each other in the middle after the fashion of a [illegible], the longitudinal one running east and west, while the transverse one [illegible] turned to north and south. These were fenced in all round by walls, while on the inside they were bordered by columns that stood both on [illegible] ground and the upper [floor]. At the junction of the two straight [illegible]rms, i.e., at their very center, a place has been consecrated that is inac[illegible]ssible to those who do not perform the mysteries: this is fittingly called [illegible] sanctuary *(hierateion)*. The transverse arms on either side of the [illegible]tuary are equal to each other, while on the longitudinal axis the [illegible] one is that much longer than the other as to form the shape of a [illegible]ross. [illegible] part of the roof that is above the sanctuary, as it is called, has [illegible]een made to resemble that of the church of Sophia—at any rate, as [illegible]egards the middle—except that it happens to be smaller than the latter. [illegible]he arches, four in number, are suspended and bound together in the [illegible] manner [as in St. Sophia]; likewise, the circular ring *(to kukloteres)* [illegible] rests upon them is divided by windows, and the dome that curv[illegible] [illegible]bove seems to be somehow hovering in the air and not standing on solid [illegible]asonry, although it is perfectly secure. The central part of the roof is [illegible]erefore constructed in this fashion; and as for the arms which, as I have [illegible]d, are four in number, their roof[234] is of the same dimensions as the [illegible] in the middle, but lacks this one feature, namely that underneath [illegible] curvature the masonry is not pierced by windows.

The Church of the Virgin of the Pêgê[235]

[illegible] aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem, AA.SS Nov. III, 879: Justinian [illegible] healed from a disease of the kidneys by drinking the water [illegible] known simply as Pêgê (modern Balīklī) outside the walls of [illegible]onstantinople. In gratitude to his Benefactress [the Virgin Mary] and [illegible] repayment of his debt he erected from the foundations this great [illegible] in the name of Our Lady, which he cleverly compacted by means [illegible] four arches and wrought it in a circle so that it seemed to hang [illegible]—a smaller dome on earth similar to the greater one of heaven. [illegible]his church having suffered through [the passage of] time and fallen [illegible] was restored by the Emperor Basil [I].

234 I.e., each arm of the cross was surmounted by a dome equal in diameter to the central one, but lacking windows.
235 Cf. Procopius, *De aedif.*, I, iii, 6.

The Church of the Virgin Katapolianê in Paros[236]

Nicetas Magister, *Vita S. Theoctistae Lesbiae*, ch. 3 f., ASS Nov. IV, 226. *The author, who took part in the Byzantine expedition against Arab-occupied Crete in 911, describes a visit he paid en route to the island of Paros.*[237] . . . We sailed to Paros so as to explore, by the way, the territory of the island and to behold the church of Our Lady, the Mother of God, that is there. . . . This was quite admirable, preserving, as it did, the remnants of its ancient beauty. It was built symmetrically, supported all round by means of numerous columns of imperial marble (*basilikos lithos*),[238] and having all its walls reveted with sawn marble of the same kind as that of the columns. So delicately did the craftsman finish the stone, that the wall seemed to be clothed with purple fabric, while the glitter of the stone exhibited such liquid refulgence as to surpass the brilliance of pearls. . . . 4. When we beheld, inside the door, the ciborium (*orophion*) that surmounted the holy table, we were amazed by its beauty. This piece of carving did not seem to be made of stone or to have been artfully cut by manual labor and iron [tools], but to have been, as it were, kneaded out of fresh milk and poured into the shape of a roof. I had once seen this kind of stone in [a statue of] Selênê driving a chariot drawn by oxen. The ciborium had been broken, and lay in pieces. . . .

The author goes on to relate (p. 227) that an Arab admiral called Nisiris (Nasir) had attempted to remove the ciborium to Crete. He assured himself by measurement that it would go through the door of the church, but when he tried to take it out, it kept expanding. Unable to get the ciborium through the door, the Arab was filled with anger and broke it to pieces.

Ravenna

Agnellus XXIV, *De Ecclesio* cc. 57, 59: In his [Ecclesius's] time the church of the blessed martyr Vitalis was founded by Julianus Argentarius[239] together with the bishop himself. . . . As I have said above, the

[236] This church, which is still extant, appears to date from about the middle of the sixth century. See H. H. Jewell and F. W. Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates . . . in Paros* (London, 1920).

[237] On the historical circumstances see A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes,* II. pt. 1 (Brussels, 1968), 208 f. Cf. also H. Delehaye, "La Vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos," *Byzantion,* I (1924), 191 ff.

[238] The author is evidently referring to porphyry. The present columns of the church are, however, described by Jewell and Hasluck, p. 35, as being of cipollino marble.

[239] A banker, as shown by his appellation, he took part in the erection of four other churches at Ravenna and Classis. He is believed to be represented in the apse of S. Vitale between Justinian and bishop Maximian. It is generally held that S. Vitale was founded in 526 and dedicated in 548.

church of the blessed martyr Vitalis was built in his time by Julianus Argentarius. No other church in Italy resembles it with regard to construction and architectural design (*in mechanicis operibus*). As we have found in the laudation recording the holy memory of the founder Julianus,[240] 26,000 gold solidi were expended for the aforementioned church of the martyr Vitalis. When this most-blessed man [Julianus] died, he was buried in the church of the blessed martyr Vitalis, below the *monasterium* of St. Nazarius,[241] in front of the altar. . . .

Agnellus XXVI, *De Victore* c. 66: He [Victor] also made a silver ciborium of wonderful workmanship above the altar of the holy Ursiana church,[242] so named after the person who built it. Some say that he did this in conjunction with the people, while others say that the orthodox emperor Justinian, the elder,[243] acting on a suggestion, decided that he should do such a work and offered his help. Moved by charity, he bestowed upon the blessed Victor the entire tax-revenue of Italy for one year.[244] When he [Victor] had received this, he removed the old wooden ciborium and made the one you see now, constructed of 2,000 lbs. of silver, accurately weighed. Upon the arches of the ciborium are written the following verses: "This vow Victor the priest together with his flock absolved unto Christ; Victor who by his love increased the faith of the people . . . ." From the remainder[245] he made various vessels for the bishop's table, some of which remain to the present day. He also made for the altar of the holy Ursiana church a cloth (*endothim*)[246] of pure gold and silken thread, very heavy, having a shell (*cocca*) in the center. Among the five images that are on it we recognised his own, while under the representation of the Saviour's feet the following inscription is woven in purple: "Victor the bishop, servant of God, offered this adornment for the day of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the fifth year of his ordination."[247]

Agnellus XXVII, *De Maximiano* cc. 72–73: He [Maximian] built here, at Ravenna, a church of the blessed Stephen, levite and martyr, not far from the postern of Ovilio;[248] [he built it] from the foundations, wonderfully big, and decorated it most beautifully. In the vault of the tribune

[240] I.e., presumably, his epitaph.

[241] This *monasterium* has been identified with the prothesis of S. Vitale.

[242] The basilica Ursiana was the cathedral of Ravenna. It was part of a great complex built by bishop Ursus (late fourth or early fifth century) of which only the Orthodox Baptistery remains today.

[243] To distinguish him from Justinian II.

[244] This is obviously a legendary element.

[245] I.e., with the remainder of the money given by Justinian.

[246] From the Greek *endutê*.

[247] Rasponi, in his ed. of Agnellus, p. 185, argues that this altarcloth was dedicated on Easter Day (April 5) 543.

[248] Close to S. Vitale.

is set up his own portrait made of variegated mosaic cubes, and all round there is wonderful glass decoration.[249] He deposited there relics of many saints' bodies whose names you will find written down as follows:[250] "In honor of the holy and most-blessed first martyr Stephen and with his help, the bishop Maximian, slave of Christ, built this basilica from the foundations and dedicated it on the third day before the Ides of December, indiction XIV, the ninth year after the consulship of Basilius the younger."[251] . . . He joined to the sides of this basilica small *monasteria*,[252] all of which shine wonderfully with new gilded mosaic cubes and others of different colors, set in plaster. On the capitals of all the columns is carved Maximian's name.[253] In the *monasterium* which is on the men's side[254] you will find six letters of inlaid stone (*lithostratas*). The ignorant interpret them incorrectly, while the learned understand that what is written there is MU.SI.VA.[255]

73. Some people claim that on a given day the bishop summoned the *archiergates*, i.e., the chief foreman, and asked him why he was not completing the structure of the said church. The man replied "While you, my Lord, were travelling in the parts of Constantinople, the mortar and bricks gave out, nor do we have enough stones that we may continue working." On the bishop's order so much material was brought together in one night, namely lime and tiles, stones and bricks (*bisales*), marbles and timber, columns, slabs and sand—all of this, as I have said, was made ready by the carriers in one night—that they could hardly make use of it all in eleven months.[256]

Agnellus XXVII, *De Maximiano* c. 80: He [Maximian] made two vessels for chrism, one of which was wonderfully carved and weighed fourteen pounds, but it recently perished, before the time of the archbishop Petronacius,[257] the other, which is beautifully worked, exists to this day and upon it is written: "The archbishop Maximian, slave of Christ, made this chrismatory for the use of the faithful."

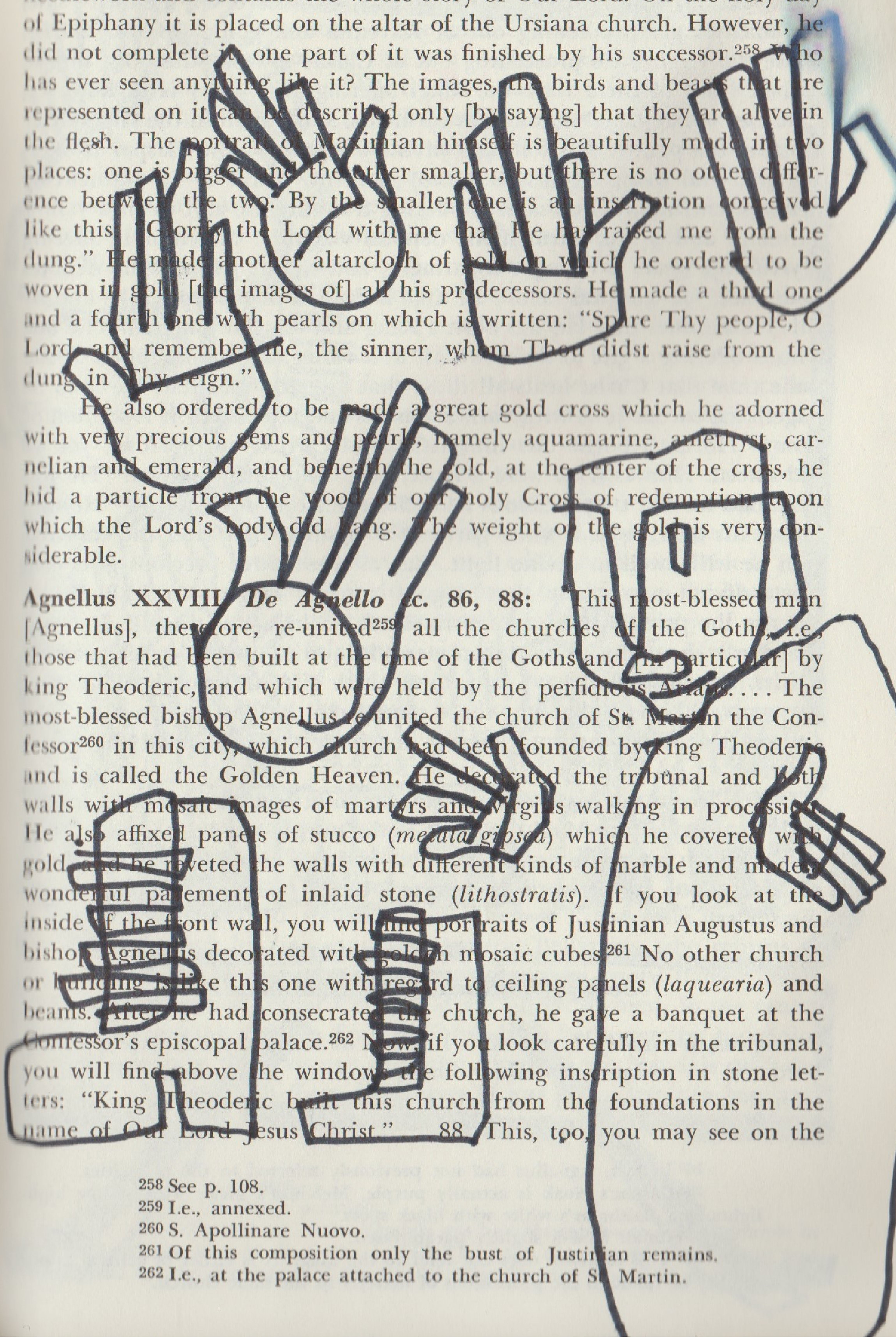
He also ordered to be made a precious purple altarcloth (*endothim*), the like of which we have never been able to see elsewhere; it is of

249 I.e., mosaic.
250 The saints' names are not actually contained in the inscription. Agnellus lists them further down, in a passage we have omitted.
251 The date is December 11, 550.
252 I.e., chapels.
253 Presumably in the form of a monogram as are the names of Julianus and bishop Victor on the impost blocks of the capitals of St. Vitale.
254 I.e., on the right hand side of the church.
255 This sentence is not very clear. Agnellus may have seen a fragmentary inscription recording the setting up of the mosaic decoration.
256 St. Stephen's was built in eleven months as stated in the dedicatory inscription reproduced by Agnellus, c. 72. The rest of the story about the chief foreman is clearly legendary.
257 Bishop of Ravenna from some time before 819 until after 827.

needlework and contains the whole story of Our Lord. On the holy day of Epiphany it is placed on the altar of the Ursiana church. However, he did not complete it; one part of it was finished by his successor.[258] Who has ever seen anything like it? The images, the birds and beasts that are represented on it can be described only [by saying] that they are alive in the flesh. The portrait of Maximian himself is beautifully made in two places: one is bigger and the other smaller, but there is no other difference between the two. By the smaller one is an inscription conceived like this: "Glorify the Lord with me that He has raised me from the dung." He made another altarcloth of gold on which he ordered to be woven in gold [the images of] all his predecessors. He made a third one and a fourth one with pearls on which is written: "Spare Thy people, O Lord, and remember me, the sinner, whom Thou didst raise from the dung in Thy reign."

He also ordered to be made a great gold cross which he adorned with very precious gems and pearls, namely aquamarine, amethyst, carnelian and emerald, and beneath the gold, at the center of the cross, he hid a particle from the wood of our holy Cross of redemption upon which the Lord's body did hang. The weight of the gold is very considerable.

Agnellus XXVIII, *De Agnello* cc. 86, 88: This most-blessed man [Agnellus], therefore, re-united[259] all the churches of the Goths, i.e., those that had been built at the time of the Goths and [in particular] by king Theoderic, and which were held by the perfidious Arians. . . . The most-blessed bishop Agnellus re-united the church of St. Martin the Confessor[260] in this city, which church had been founded by king Theoderic and is called the Golden Heaven. He decorated the tribunal and both walls with mosaic images of martyrs and virgins walking in procession. He also affixed panels of stucco (*metalla gipsea*) which he covered with gold, and he riveted the walls with different kinds of marble and made a wonderful pavement of inlaid stone (*lithostratis*). If you look at the inside of the front wall, you will find portraits of Justinian Augustus and bishop Agnellus decorated with golden mosaic cubes.[261] No other church or building is like this one with regard to ceiling panels (*laquearia*) and beams. After he had consecrated the church, he gave a banquet at the Confessor's episcopal palace.[262] Now, if you look carefully in the tribunal, you will find above the windows the following inscription in stone letters: "King Theoderic built this church from the foundations in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ." . . . 88. This, too, you may see on the



258 See p. 108.
259 I.e., annexed.
260 S. Apollinare Nuovo.
261 Of this composition only the bust of Justinian remains.
262 I.e., at the palace attached to the church of St. Martin.

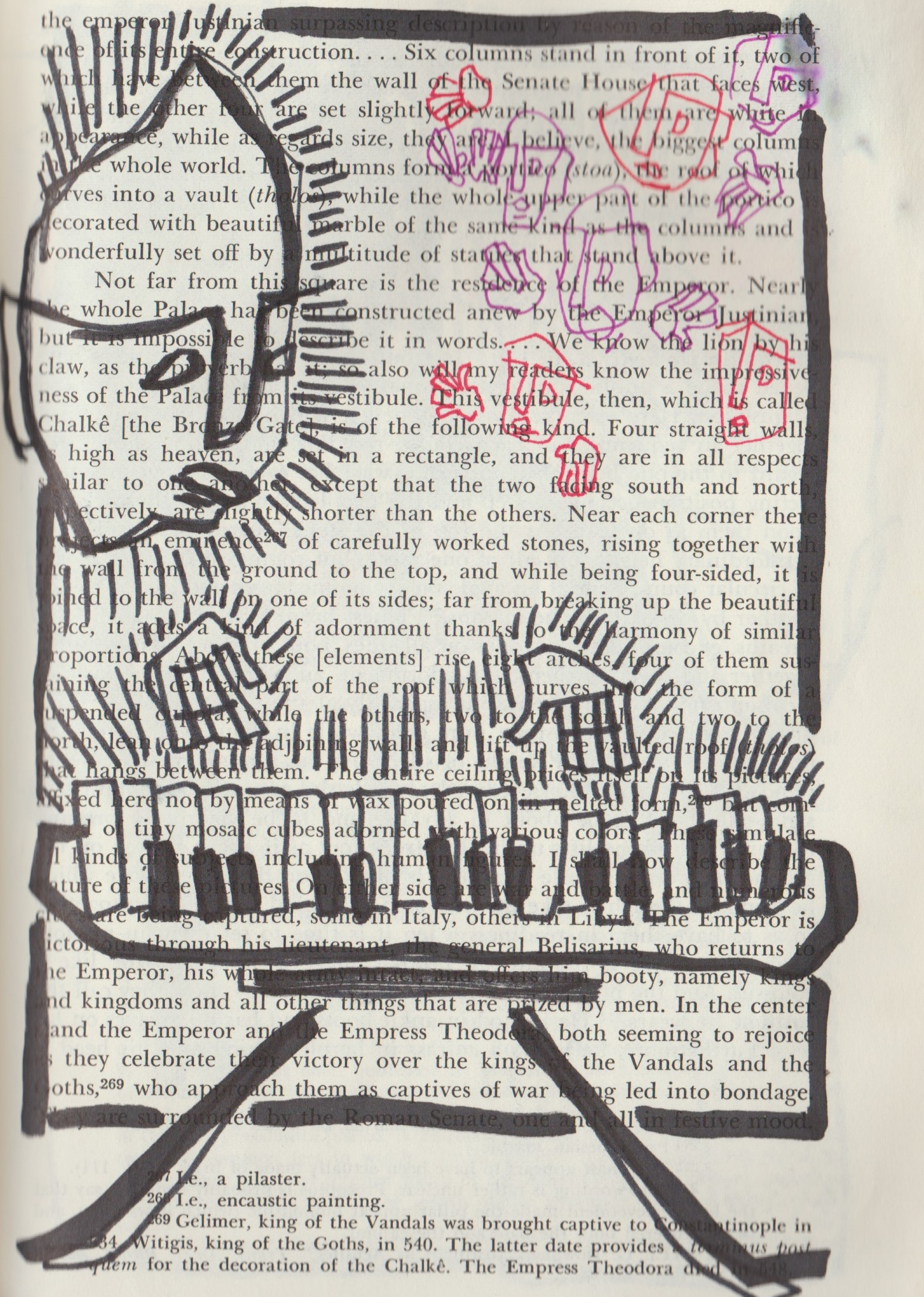
wall. As I have said,[263] two cities are represented there. On the men's side, the martyrs are proceeding out of Ravenna and going towards Christ, while the virgins are proceeding out of Classis towards the holy Virgin, and in front of them walk the Magi offering gifts. Why is it, however, that they are depicted in different garments, and not all in the same kind? Because the painter has followed divine Scripture. Now, Caspar is offering gold and wears a blue (*iacintino*) garment,[264] and by his garment he denotes matrimony. Balthasar is offering frankincense and wears a yellow garment, and by his garment he denotes virginity. Melchior is offering myrrh and wears a variegated garment, and by his garment he denotes penitence. He who was before all time is dressed in a purple robe and by this He signifies that He was born a King and that He suffered. The one who is offering a gift to the newborn in a variegated robe signifies at the same time that Christ heals all those that are sick, and that He is to be flagellated by the Jews with various insults and lashes. For it is written of Him: "He hath borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows, yet we did esteem Him as if he were a leper," etc. And further down: "He was wounded for our transgressions and affixed for our iniquities."[265] He who makes his offering in a white garment[266] signifies that after the resurrection he will dwell in divine light. Just as these three precious gifts contain a divine mystery, i.e. that by gold is meant kingly wealth, by frankincense the priestly form, by myrrh death, so by all of these it is shown that He is the one who has taken men's iniquities upon Himself, namely Christ; thus also, as I have said, these three gifts are contained in their garments. Why is it that just three came from the East, and not four, or six, or two? That they may signify the perfect plenitude of the entire Trinity.

On account of his love for them, the most blessed Agnellus adorned with the story of the Magi that part of the purple altar cloth, mentioned above, which his predecessor Maximian had not completed. His portrait, of marvellous needlework is inserted there (*mechanico opere aculis inserta est*).

Secular Buildings at Constantinople

Procopius, *De aedif.* I, x, 5 ff: There is in front of the Palace a square bordered by colonnades which the people of Byzantium call Augustaion. . . . To the east of this square stands the Senate House, a work of

263 In fact, Agnellus had not previously referred to the two cities.
264 Caspar's cloak is actually purple, Melchior's green with yellow highlights, and Balthasar's white with black spots.
265 Isaiah 53:4–5 slightly paraphrased.
266 This sentence does not refer to the Magi. It is either of general applicability or refers to the processions of martyrs in the same church.



the emperor Justinian surpassing description by reason of the magnificence of its entire construction. . . . Six columns stand in front of it, two of which have between them the wall of the Senate House that faces west, while the other four are set slightly forward; all of them are white in appearance, while as regards size, they are, I believe, the biggest columns in the whole world. The columns form a portico (*stoa*), the roof of which curves into a vault (*tholos*), while the whole upper part of the portico is decorated with beautiful marble of the same kind as the columns and is wonderfully set off by a multitude of statues that stand above it.

Not far from this square is the residence of the Emperor. Nearly the whole Palace has been constructed anew by the Emperor Justinian, but it is impossible to describe it in words. . . . We know the lion by his claw, as the proverb has it; so also will my readers know the impressiveness of the Palace from its vestibule. This vestibule, then, which is called Chalkê [the Bronze Gate], is of the following kind. Four straight walls, as high as heaven, are set in a rectangle, and they are in all respects similar to one another, except that the two facing south and north, respectively, are slightly shorter than the others. Near each corner there projects an eminence[267] of carefully worked stones, rising together with the wall from the ground to the top, and while being four-sided, it is joined to the wall on one of its sides; far from breaking up the beautiful space, it adds a kind of adornment thanks to the harmony of similar proportions. Above these [elements] rise eight arches, four of them sustaining the central part of the roof which curves into the form of a suspended cupola, while the others, two to the south and two to the north, lean onto the adjoining walls and lift up the vaulted roof (*tholos*) that hangs between them. The entire ceiling prides itself on its pictures, fixed here not by means of wax poured on in melted form,[268] but composed of tiny mosaic cubes adorned with various colors. These simulate all kinds of subjects including human figures. I shall now describe the nature of these pictures. On either side are war and battle, and numerous cities are being captured, some in Italy, others in Libya. The Emperor is victorious through his lieutenant, the general Belisarius, who returns to the Emperor, his whole army intact, and offers him booty, namely kings and kingdoms and all other things that are prized by men. In the center stand the Emperor and the Empress Theodora, both seeming to rejoice as they celebrate their victory over the kings of the Vandals and the Goths,[269] who approach them as captives of war being led into bondage. They are surrounded by the Roman Senate, one and all in festive mood.

267 I.e., a pilaster.
268 I.e., encaustic painting.
269 Gelimer, king of the Vandals was brought captive to Constantinople in 534, Witigis, king of the Goths, in 540. The latter date provides a *terminus post quem* for the decoration of the Chalkê. The Empress Theodora died in 548.

[redacted] their faces take on a joyful bloom. So they smile proudly as they offer the Emperor divine honors because of the magnitude of his achievements. The whole interior up to the mosaic of the ceiling is reveted with beautiful marbles, not only the upright surfaces, but the entire floor as well. Some of these marbles are Spartan stone resembling emerald,[270] others imitate the flame of fire. Most of them, however, are white in color, not plain, but having at intervals a tracery of wavy blue lines.[271]

Justinian's Pillar and Equestrian Statue

Procopius, *De aedif.* I, ii, 1 ff: In front of the Senate House there happened to be a public square; this square the people of Byzantium call Augustaion. Here seven courses of stone are laid in a square, all joined together in sequence, but each course receding and falling short with regard to the one beneath it in such a way that each stone set in a projecting position becomes a step and the people who gather there can sit upon them as on seats. At the top of the stones there rises a pillar of extraordinary height, not all of one piece, but composed of large blocks in circular courses, cut at an angle on their inner faces and joined to one another by the skill of the masons.[272] Finest bronze, cast into panels and wreaths, encompasses the stones on all sides, both binding them securely together and covering them with adornment, and simulating the form of a column nearly throughout, but especially at the top and base.[273] This bronze is in color softer than pure gold, while in value it does not fall much short of an equal weight of silver. At the summit of the column stands a huge bronze horse turned towards the east, a most noteworthy sight. He seems to be about to advance and to be vigorously pressing forward. Indeed, he lifts up his left front foot as if about to step on the ground before him, while the other is planted on the stone above which he stands as though to take the next step. The hind feet he draws together so as to have them in readiness when it is time to set them in motion. Upon this horse is mounted a bronze image of the Emperor like a colossus. And the image is clad like Achilles, for that is how they call the costume he wears.[274] He is shod in ankle-boots and has no greaves on his legs. Furthermore, he wears a cuirass in heroic fashion and his head is

270 The same as Lacedaemonian marble, on which see p. 63, and n. 43.

271 Proconnesian marble.

272 The shaft appears to have been actually made of brick (cf. p. 111).

273 The wording is rather unclear. Procopius is probably trying to say that the bronze revetment made the pillar appear monolithic (which it was not), and that it covered both the base and the capital.

274 Cf. G. Downey, "Justinian as Achilles," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* LXXI (1940), 68–77.

[redacted] holy Mother of God [redacted] stone; which [redacted] cemented with [redacted] an inscription [redacted] upon a tablet [redacted] as follows:

Build, build aloft thy pillar,
And raise it vast and high;
Then mount and stand upon it,
Soaring proudly in the sky:
Eastward, south, and north, westward,
Wherever thou shalt gaze,
Nought thou'lt see but desolations,
The work of thy own days.

9 On this church cf. the epigram in *Anthol. graeca*, I, 11. The quarter of Darius lay to the west of the imperial palace.

10 I.e., at the forum Tauri, modern Beyazit.

11 Situated somewhere near the Acropolis (Seraglio Point) of Constantinople. See Janin, *Eglises*, pp. 413 f.

12 Situated near the Capitol. See Janin, *Eglises*, pp. 414 f.

13 A fire is recorded in 475: A. M. Schneider, "Brände in Konstantinopel," BZ, XLI (1941), 384.

14 This work is commemorated by two epigrams, *Anthol. graeca*, I, 2, 3. The church of the Blachernae was of basilical shape. It was built c. 450 and rebuilt in the reign of Justin I (518–27): Procopius, *De aedif.*, I, iii, 3. Justin II appears to have added a transept. Restored once again in the 11th century, the famous church was finally burnt down in 1434. There is an interesting desription of it by Isidore of Kiev, ed. G. Mercati, "Due nove memorie di S. Maria delle Blacherne," *Atti della Pont. Accad. Rom. di Archeol., Memorie*, I/1 (1923), 28 f. A manuscript note, published by Mercati, p. 26 f. states that the church of the Blachernae "was measured and found to be 68 common feet in width and 146 of the same feet in length. As for the sacred church of the most holy Mother of God at Thessalonica [called] Acheiropoietos, this, too, was measured and found to be 53 common feet in width." Unfortunately, there is some error in these figures, since the total interior width of the Acheiropoietos is 28.30 m. and that of its nave alone 14 m. For the length of the Byzantine foot, see above, p. 80, n. 116.

15 Trans. P. Smith, pp. 205 f., corrected by comparison with Latin trans. by E. W. Brooks, *Corpus Script. Christ. Orient., Script. Syri*, III, 4, Versio, I, I

Before its completion, however, Justin died, and it is said that the question who would finish it led to a quarrel between Tiberius and Sophia: for she bade him undertake it; but he said, "I shall do nothing of the sort; for it is your duty to finish it." And she, supposing that at all events he would complete it and place his own statue upon it, said, "If you will not do it in honor of him who began it, do so for yourself." At which he was angry, and vowed that his statue would stand neither on this pillar nor another. Subsequently, when he saw that the great loads of stone employed in it would be useful for the buildings he had commenced in the palace, he had it entirely taken down, and all the stones removed to the palace and to the church of the Forty Martyrs which he was building for a long time. It was said that many hundreds of pounds of gold had been spent on this pillar.

Vita S. Marthae, ASS, May V, 415 ff. *Martha died c. 560 and was buried in her son's monastery of the Wondrous Mountain near Antioch. At first, her tomb was placed in a small conch to the right of the Stylite's pillar. Her cult proved, however, very popular, and a few years later, a special trefoil martyrium was built for her as described in the following passage.*[16]

For several days he [Symeon] kept seeing the tomb of the blessed woman [Martha], together with the conch wherein this tomb was placed, being moved before his eyes to the south side of the first church he had built. . . . From that time onward nearly the whole brotherhood was given no respite: the blessed Martha appeared to them by means of [various] signs and demanded insistently that a chapel be made for her and that her body together with the tomb be transferred to this chapel. . . . And while all the brethren were reporting the glorious prodigies they had seen in various ways, there came forward also that monk who had had the first revelation four months prior to her death[17] . . . and he said, "Lo, the great Lady [Martha] has appeared to me with joyful countenance three or even four times, bringing me peace from the Lord and showing me the plan (*skariphos*) of a chapel having three conches, namely one to the east, and one to the right and one to the left. She explained to me the entire arrangement of the structure and enjoined on me to report this to all of you. . . ." . . . The Slave of God [Symeon] said to them: "You are not to concern yourselves with this, but if the Lord so wishes, I shall receive from Him a notice concerning this request also. For, if this is

16 For the remains of the monastery, see W. Djobadze, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XV (1965), 228 ff.

17 This revelation is described on pp. 403C–404D of the same Life. The nameless monk saw Martha transformed into a luminous cross, only her face showing above it.

Theophanes, *Chronogr.* A. M. 6088, p. 274: In this year [596] the Emperor built the round terrace of the Magnaura,[26] and in the middle of the courtyard he set up his own statue and he made an armory there.[27]

The Ciborium of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica

This story, which is set in the troubled reign of Phocas (602–610), concerns an unnamed relative of a Prefect of Illyricum who had a vision described in the following passage.

***Miracula S. Demetrii,* §§ 82 ff.**[28] 82. Then, it seems, he entered the church and, after saying his prayers, saw that sacred and beautiful construction which is set up in the midst of the church on the left hand side:[29] it is hexagonal in plan, having six columns and as many partitions, shaped out of carved, assayed silver.[30] Its roof is likewise held up all round by the six sides and terminates in a circular conjunction from the base up. At the top it bears a silver sphere of no small size, its lower part surrounded by the shoots of lilies. At the very summit flashes forth the trophy that is victorious over death; by its silver composition it amazes our corporeal eyes, while by bringing Christ to mind, it illuminates with grace the eyes of the intellect—I mean the life-giving and venerable cross of God our Savior.

83. Having beheld in his dream this God-given structure that is in the church—the one we call the sanctified ciborium—he seemed to be asking those around him, "What, O brethren, is this wonderful work that rises in the middle of the church's length? . . ." They replied, "We have been told by our fathers that the most glorious martyr Demetrius reposes there in divine fashion." The man said, "I should like to see its inside." So they pointed out to him the attendant that stood by the silver doors saying that without him no one could penetrate within. . . .

84. When the attendant had opened the doors, our man, even before he had entered, saw the little silver couch that is set up in the

26 A reception hall in the imperial palace.

27 According to another tradition, the armory was established by Phocas (602–10). Leo Grammaticus, p. 146: "The same Phocas [built] the armory which is near the palace of Magnaura, and he set up in the middle of it a column of masonry with his own statue at the top."

28 PG 116, 1265 ff.

29 The base of this ciborium was discovered in 1917: see G. A. and M. G. Sotêriou, *Hê basilikê tou Hagiou Dêmêtriou Thessalonikês* (Athens, 1952), pp. 100 f. and pl. 26a. The ciborium described here appears to have been made after the destruction of the original one by the Avars c. 580. See *ibid.*, pp. 10 ff.; N. Theotoka, "Peri tôn kibôriôn tôn naôn tou Hagiou Dêmêtriou," *Makedonika*, II (1941–52; published 1953), 395 ff.

30 This should be understood to mean that the ciborium was reveted with embossed silver.

middle[31]—as we may see it also—and at the head of it a splendid throne made of gold and precious stones upon which sat Christ's most glorious martyr Demetrius in the same form as he is depicted on icons, while at the foot of the couch was another splendid throne made entirely of silver on which he saw seated a woman of beautiful and decorous aspect[32]. . . .

Phocas (602–10)

Chron. Paschale I, 698 f., 703: In this year [609] was completed the composite column[33] which was built by the Emperor Phocas together with the cistern to the east of the church of the Forty Saints near the Brazen Tetrapylon[34]. . . .

In this year [612] the venerable cross was affixed at the top of the composite column which is to the east of the church of the Forty Saints. . . .

Ravenna

Agnellus XXVI, *De Reparato* c. 115: He was already an old man [when he became bishop], and his emaciated likeness used to be in the church of the blessed Peter[35]. . . . At the time of Constantine, the elder emperor, father of Heraclius and Tiberius,[36] he proceeded to Constantinople and he obtained everything he requested of the emperor. . . . He ordered that their portraits as well as his own, decorated with mosaic-cubes of different colors, should be depicted in the tribunal of the apse of the blessed Apolenaris, and that underneath their feet should be inscribed a metrical distich conceived as follows:

"That he may be their partner by his merits, Reparatus, burning with eternal zeal, has made new raiment for the church."

31 Elsewhere described as a *krabbation* on which was represented the Saint's portrait (PG 116, 1217D), this appears to have been a reliquary in the shape of a silver couch. See G. A. and M. G. Sotêriou, p. 17; A. Grabar, "Quelques reliquaires de S. Démétrios," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* V, (1950), 8 ff.

32 This was the Lady Eutaxia symbolizing law and order.

33 I.e., a column of masonry as opposed to a monolithic one.

34 This monument was situated somewhere near modern Beyazit. On the church see Janin, *Eglises,* p. 501.

35 At Classe.

36 Agnellus is here confusing the Emperors Constans II (641–68) and his son Constantine IV (668–85) whose brothers were Heraclius and Tiberius. Reparatus was bishop from 673 until 679; in 666, while still a deacon, he obtained from the Emperor, then residing at Syracuse, the *autokephalia* (independence from Rome) of the church of Ravenna. The mosaic at S. Apollinare in Classe probably represents, however, not the granting of the *autokephalia,* but that of certain fiscal exemptions for the clergy of Ravenna which Reparatus obtained from Constantine IV.

cross. Filled with great joy and faith, Neanias took courage . . . and he came to Scythopolis.[117] He convened secretly the whole guild of goldsmiths and silversmiths and asked them, "Can you make me an object such as I shall order?" Frightened by the man's stern look, they consulted with each other and introduced before him their [illegible] craftsman called Mark, saying, "He will fulfill your wish, Sir."

Neanias then indicates to Mark the object he has in mind, namely a cross. Mark at first refuses to make it because he is afraid of the emperor, but Neanias reassures him by the promise of not revealing the matter to anybody. Having been persuaded, he [Mark], all alone and in secret, made the cross at night out of silver and gold, and it so happened that when the cross was finished and raised up, there appeared on it three images designated by names written in the Hebrew tongue, namely on the top arm "Emmanuel", and on the lateral arms "Michael" and "Gabriel". Becoming suspicious Mark tried to erase them, but was unable to do so, for his hand was paralysed. When the cock had crowed, the *dux*[118] Neanias came to Mark's house to take the cross, and when he saw it, he did obeisance to it and said to Mark, "What are these figures and what is the inscription?" He answered, "Sir, at the time when the work was finished, these three images appeared, and I do not know whose they are or what the inscription is."

117 The Biblical Bethshan, west of the Jordan.

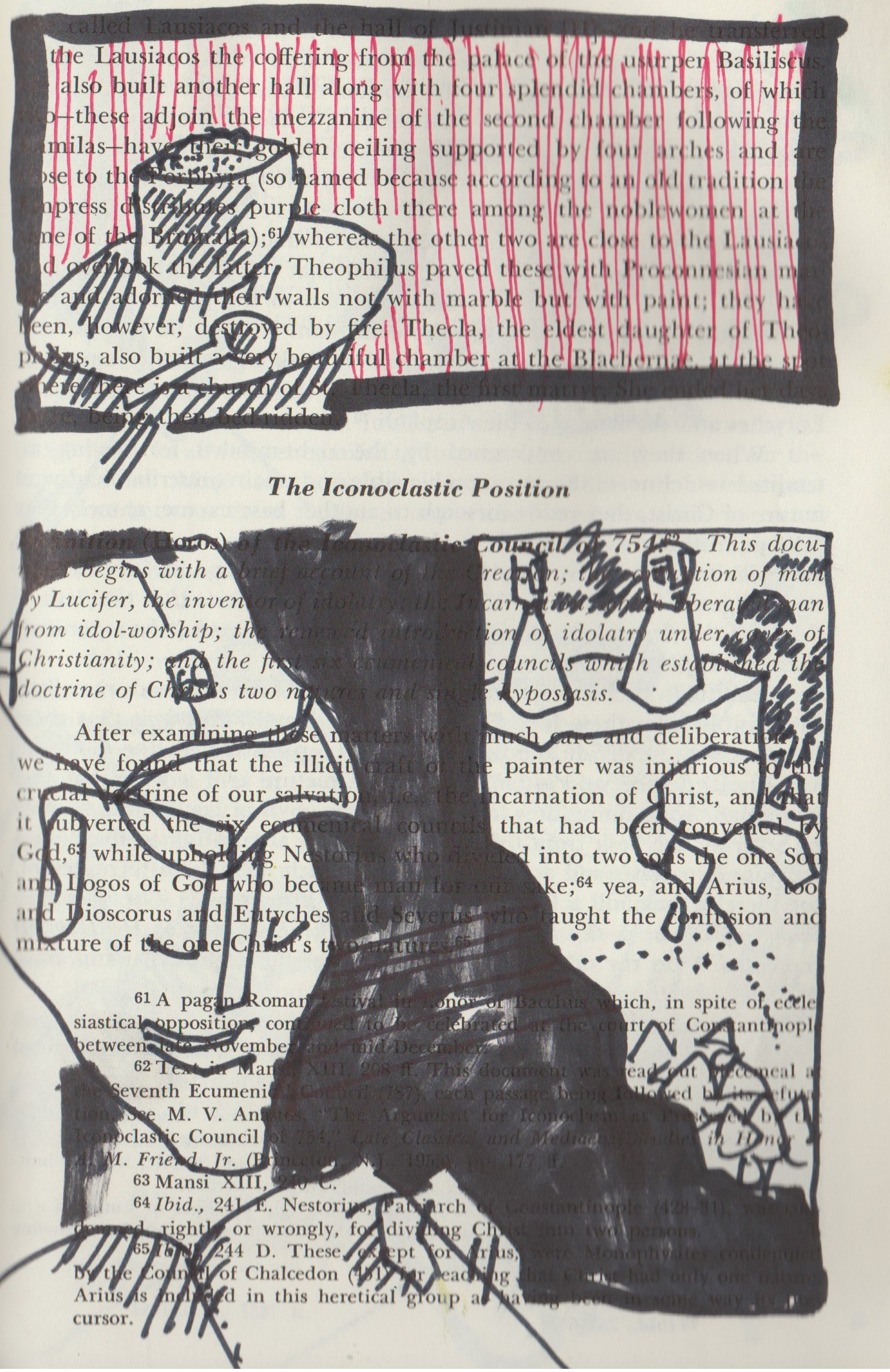
118 Military governor.

Christ, our true God, deigned to be crucified for the sake of our salvation. They sang hymns to these images and worshipped them and asked help of them. Many people wrapped cloths round them and made them the baptismal godfathers of their children.[38] Others, who were desirous of taking the monastic habit, did not have recourse to persons more advanced in the religious life, who formerly would have been wont to receive the hairs of their head, but, using images, allowed their hairs to fall, as it were, into the bosom of the same. Certain priests and clerics scraped the paint of images and, mixing this with the eucharistic bread and wine, let the communicants partake of this oblation after the celebration of the mass. Others again placed the Body of the Lord in the hands of images and made the communicants receive it therefrom. Others yet, spurning the Church, used panel images in the place of altars, and this in ordinary houses, and over them they celebrated the holy ministry, and they did in the churches many other illicit things of this kind that were contrary to our faith and appeared to be altogether unseemly to men of learning and wisdom.

Wherefore, the orthodox Emperors and most-learned bishops decreed that a local council be convened so as to examine these matters, and they came together under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.[39] By common decision they forbade such practices in any place whatever, and caused images to be removed from positions near the ground lest they be worshipped by ignorant and weak persons; on the other hand, they allowed those images that had been placed higher up to remain in place, so that painting might fulfil the purpose of writing, but they did not permit[40] either lamps to be lit before them or incense to be burnt. Such also is our belief and conviction, and we reject from Christ's Church those who cling to the above wicked inventions.

Theophanes Continuatus pp. 99 f.: Of his [Theophilus's] predecessors—these were Leo and Theophilus's father Michael—the latter decreed that on no image, wherever it may be depicted, should the word "holy"[41] be inscribed, since he conceived the wrong opinion that this epithet was appropriate to none but God. . . . "This is what he decreed," quoth he [Theophilus], "while the other, i.e., Leo, that [images] should not even be venerated. As for me, [I decree] that they should not even be depicted with colors. Inasmuch as they are lowly, one ought not to be excited

38 Cf. p. 174.
39 The Iconoclastic Council of 815.
40 Actually, the text says "they did not prohibit" (*sed neque eis lucernas accenderent, neque incensum adolerent, prohibuerunt*), but this appears to be the opposite of the required meaning.
41 In Greek the word *hagios* means both "saint" and "holy."



[redacted] the Lausiacos the coffering from the palace of the usurper Basiliscus. [redacted] also built another hall along with four splendid chambers, of which [redacted]—these adjoin the mezzanine of the second chamber following the [redacted]milas—have their golden ceiling supported by four arches and are [redacted]se to the Porphyra (so named because according to an old tradition the [redacted]press distributes purple cloth there among the noblewomen at the [redacted]ne of the Brumalia);[61] whereas the other two are close to the Lausiac[redacted]d overlook the latter. Theophilus paved these with Proconnesian m[redacted] and adorned their walls not with marble but with paint; they ha[redacted]een, however, destroyed by fire. Thecla, the eldest daughter of Theo[redacted]lus, also built a very beautiful chamber at the Blachernae, at the sp[redacted]

The Iconoclastic Position

[redacted] (Horos) [redacted] Council of 754.[62] *This docu-* [redacted] *begins with a* [redacted]*; the* [redacted]*tion of man* [redacted]*y Lucifer, the inven*[redacted]*berated man from idol-worship; th*[redacted]*tion of idolatry under cover of Christianity; and the f*[redacted] *councils which established the doctrine of Ch*[redacted]*s two n*[redacted]*hypostasis.*

After examining these [redacted] much care and deliberation, we have found that the illicit [redacted] the painter was injurious to the crucial doctrine of our salvation[redacted] incarnation of Christ, and that it subverted the six ecumenical councils that had been convened by God,[63] while upholding Nesto[redacted] into two sons the one Son and Logos of God who became [redacted]ake;[64] yea, and Arius, too, and Dioscorus and Eutyches [redacted] taught the confusion and mixture of the one Christ's t[redacted][65]

61 A pagan Roman [redacted] Bacchus which, in spite of eccle-siastical opposition, con[redacted] court of Constantinople between [redacted]
62 [redacted] This document was read out piecemeal at the Seventh Ecumeni[redacted] each passage being followed by its refutation. See M. V. Ana[redacted] Iconoclastic Council [redacted] M. Friend, Jr. [redacted]
63 Mansi XIII, [redacted]
64 *Ibid.*, 241 E. Nestorius, Patriarch [redacted] rightly or wrongly, for dividing Chr[redacted]
65 *Ibid.*, 244 D. These, except for Arius, [redacted] by the Council of Chalcedon (451) for reaching [redacted] Arius is included in this heretical group as [redacted] cursor.

Wherefore we have considered it proper to demonstrate in detail by the present Definition the error of those who make and reverence [images]. . . .[66] How senseless is the notion of the painter[67] who from sordid love of gain pursues the unattainable, namely to fashion with his impure hands things that are believed by the heart and confessed by the mouth![68] This man makes an image and calls it Christ: now the name "Christ" means both God and man. Hence he has either included according to his vain fancy the uncircumscribable Godhead in the circumscription of created flesh,[69] or he has confused that unconfusable union . . . and in so doing has applied two blasphemies to the Godhead, namely through the circumscription and the confusion. So also, he who reveres [images] is guilty of the same blasphemies. Both deserve the same condemnation in that they have erred together with Arius, Dioscorus, Eutyches and the heresy of the Acephali.[70]

When they are condemned by the right-minded for having attempted to delineate the incomprehensible and uncircumscribable divine nature of Christ, they resort forsooth to another base excuse, namely that "We paint the image of the flesh alone, which we have seen and touched and with which we have lived;" which is an impiety and an invention of the evil genius of Nestorius.[71] *The bishops go on to state that the flesh of Christ is the flesh of the divine Logos, and the two cannot be separated; the same applies to Christ's soul.*

Granted, therefore, that at the Passion the Godhead remained inseparable from these [i.e., Christ's body and soul], how is it that these senseless men . . . divide the flesh that had been fused with the Godhead and [itself] deified, and attempt to paint a picture as if it were that of a mere man? In so doing they fall into another abyss of lawlessness, namely by severing the flesh from the divinity, and by attributing to the flesh a separate hypostasis and a different person which they claim to represent, for thereby they add a fourth person to the Trinity. . . .[72] *The only true image of Christ is the bread and wine of the Eucharist as He Himself indicated.*[73] On the other hand, the images of false and evil name have

66 *Ibid.*, 245 D.

67 There is an untranslatable pun here: *skaiographos* (painter of stupid things) instead of *skiagraphos*.

68 Mansi XIII, 248 E.

69 The terms "circumscribable" (*perigraptos*) and "uncircumscribable" (*aperigraptos*) have a technical meaning in the Iconoclastic controversy. The former is applied to anything that is finite, bounded and visible, hence admitting of representation; the latter to the infinite and invisible.

70 Mansi XIII, 252 A. The Acephali were rigid partisans of Eutyches who resisted the efforts at conciliation between the Monophysites and the Orthodox at the end of the 5th cenury.

71 *Ibid.*, 256 A.

72 *Ibid.*, 257 E–260 A.

73 *Ibid.*, 261–64.

[redacted] that does? And the same applies to the Mother of God, [redacted] done to her is transmitted to Him who took on flesh from [redacted] And likewise the valiant deeds of saints[98] [illegible] courage and [redacted] imitation of their virtue for the [illegible] . . . The tradi[illegible] is unattested (*agraphos*),[99] just as [illegible] the cross and many other similar things. . . .

[redacted] story is told that Abgar, the King of Edessa, [illegible] painter to [redacted] likeness of the Lord and this [illegible] was unable to [illegible] the splendor that shone from His face, whereupon [illegible] a cloth upon His divine and life-giving countenance [illegible] it His image which he sent to Abgar [to satisfy the latter's desire].[100]

St. John Damascene, *De imag. orat.* III, 16 ff.[101] [illegible] First, what is an image? An image is a likeness, an exemplar [illegible] (*ektupôma*) of something, such as to show in itself the subject [illegible]. Surely, the image is not in all respects similar to its prototype, i.e., its subject; for the image is one thing and the subject another, and there is necessarily a difference between them. . . For example, the image of a man represents [illegible] characteristics of his body, but is not endowed with his spiritual faculties: it does not live or think or speak or feel or move a limb. And a son, who is the natural image of his father, is in some ways different from the latter, for he is the son and not the father.

17. Secondly, not by God, but surely by the Adversary. Every image is declarative and indicative of something hidden. I mean the following: inasmuch as a man has no direct knowledge of the invisible (his soul being covered by a body), or of the future, or of things that are severed and distant from him in space, being as he is circumscribed by place and time, the image has been invented for the sake of guiding knowledge and manifesting publicly that which is concealed. . . .

18. Thirdly, how many different kinds of images are there? The different kinds of images are these: The first kind is the natural. . . Thus the first, natural and identical image of the invisible God is the Son of the Father, who exhibits the Father within Himself. . . .

19. The second kind of image is God's knowledge of what will be done by Him, i.e., His will that precedes time. . . . For his notion concerning each particular thing that will occur at His bidding is an image or exemplar of that thing. . . .

20. The third kind of image is the one made by God in the way of imitation, i.e., man. . . .

98 I.e., pictures of the deeds of martyrs.

99 I.e., the tradition of Christian painting has no scriptural authority.

100 On the famous Abgar legend, [redacted] the 6th century, see esp. E. von D[redacted] 102 ff.

101 PG 94, 1337 ff.

21. The fourth kind of image is when Scripture [redacted] forms and symbols for invisible and incorporeal things, and [redacted] represented in bodily form for the sake of a faint understan[redacted] and [redacted] angels, inasmuch as we are unable to contemplate [redacted] beings without figures that correspond to our comprehension [redacted] by Dionysius the Areopagite, a man learned in divine things.[102] It is indeed with good reason that forms of the formless and figures of the figureless have been set before us, namely that our condition is unable to rise directly to the contemplation of intelligible things and is in need of aids appropriate to our nature so as to guide us upwards . . .

22. The fifth kind of image is said to be the one which represents and delineates the future in advance, as the [burning] bush[103] and the dew upon the fleece,[104] and the rod,[105] and the pot [of manna][106] represented] the Virgin who is also the Mother of God; and as the [brazen] serpent[107] [represented] Him who by means of the cross was to heal the bite of the [other] serpent, the originator of evil; and as the sea, the water and the cloud[108] [represented] the Spirit of baptism.

23. The sixth kind of image serves to record events, be it a miracle or a virtuous deed, for the glorification . . . of men who have excelled and distinguished themselves in virtue. . . . This is of two kinds: in the form of speech that is written in books . . . and in the form of visual contemplation. . . . So, *to Christ's soul.* [redacted] of the virtuous men of the past for [redacted]

Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council **(787):**[109] The making of icons is not the invention of painters, but [expresses] the approved legislation of the Catholic Church. Whatever is ancient is worthy of respect, saith St. Basil, and we have as testimony [first] the antiquity of the institution and [second] the teaching of our inspired Fathers, namely that when they saw icons in holy churches they were gratified, and when they themselves built holy churches they set up icons in them. . . . The conception and the tradition are therefore theirs and not of the painter; for the painter's domain is limited to his art, whereas the disposition manifestly [redacted]tains to the Holy Fathers who built [the churches]. The name "Christ" [redacted] indicative of both divinity and humanity—the two perfect natures of [redacted] Saviour. Christians have been taught to portray this image in accord[redacted] His visible nature, not according to the one in which He was

102 [redacted] ecclesiastica hierarchia, I, 2, PG 3, 373; *De divinis nominibus*
[redacted]
105 [redacted] budded; Num. 17:8.
108 Exod. 14:20 ff.
109 Mansi XIII, 252.

godfather. How great is your confidence! "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel"[115]—this I believe Christ to have said not only at that time to the centurion, but even now to you who are of equal faith. The centurion found what he sought; you, too, have won what you trusted in. In the Gospel the divine command took the place of bodily presence, while here the bodily image took the place of its model; there the great Logos was present in His word and invisibly wrought the incredible miracle through His divinity, while here the great martyr was spiritually present in his own image and so received the infant. These things, being incredible, are unacceptable to profane ears and unbelieving souls, and especially to the iconoclasts; but to your piety clear signs and tokens have been revealed.

St. Theodore the Studite, ***Epist.*** **I, 19:**[116] *Addressed to Theodoulos the stylite.* Forgive me, Father, for what I am about to say in all simplicity and sincere love. . . . Some persons have charged . . . that your Holiness had been acting in an improper manner. . . . And they have accused you both of certain words and deeds. To give one example, they alleged that you had represented in the windows angels crucified in the form of Christ, and that both Christ and the angels were shown aged.[117] Much as I questioned them, I could not contradict them. They said that you had done something foreign and alien to the tradition of the Church, and that this deed was inspired not by God, but surely by the Adversary [i.e., the Devil], seeing that in all the years that have passed no examples of this peculiar subject (*idioma*) have ever been given by any one of the many holy Fathers who were inspired by God.

Nicephorus, [redacted] **III, 3:**[118] Furthermore, we affirm that [redacted] tion or representation of Christ was not instituted by [redacted] begun [redacted] generation, nor is it a recent invention. [redacted] by age, it is distinguished by antiquity, and is coeval with the preaching of the Gospel. To put it briefly and emphatically, these sacred representations, inasmuch as they were tokens (*sumbola*) of our [redacted] came into existence and flourished as did the [redacted] ning [redacted] by the apostles, this practice received [redacted] the Fathers. For just as these men instructed us in the words of divine reli[redacted] so in this respect also, acting in the same manner as those who repre[redacted] by painting the glorious deeds of the past, they represented the

[redacted] Matt. 8:10.
[redacted]
117 For the identification of Christ with an angel in the Patristic period [redacted] J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (Bonn, 1941); Reflections in Byzantine [redacted] Meyendorff, "L'iconographie de la Sagesse Divine," *Cahiers archéologiques*, X (1959), 266 ff.; S. Der Nersessian, "Note sur quelques images . . . du Christ ange," *ibid.*, XIII (1962), 209 ff.
[redacted] 380.

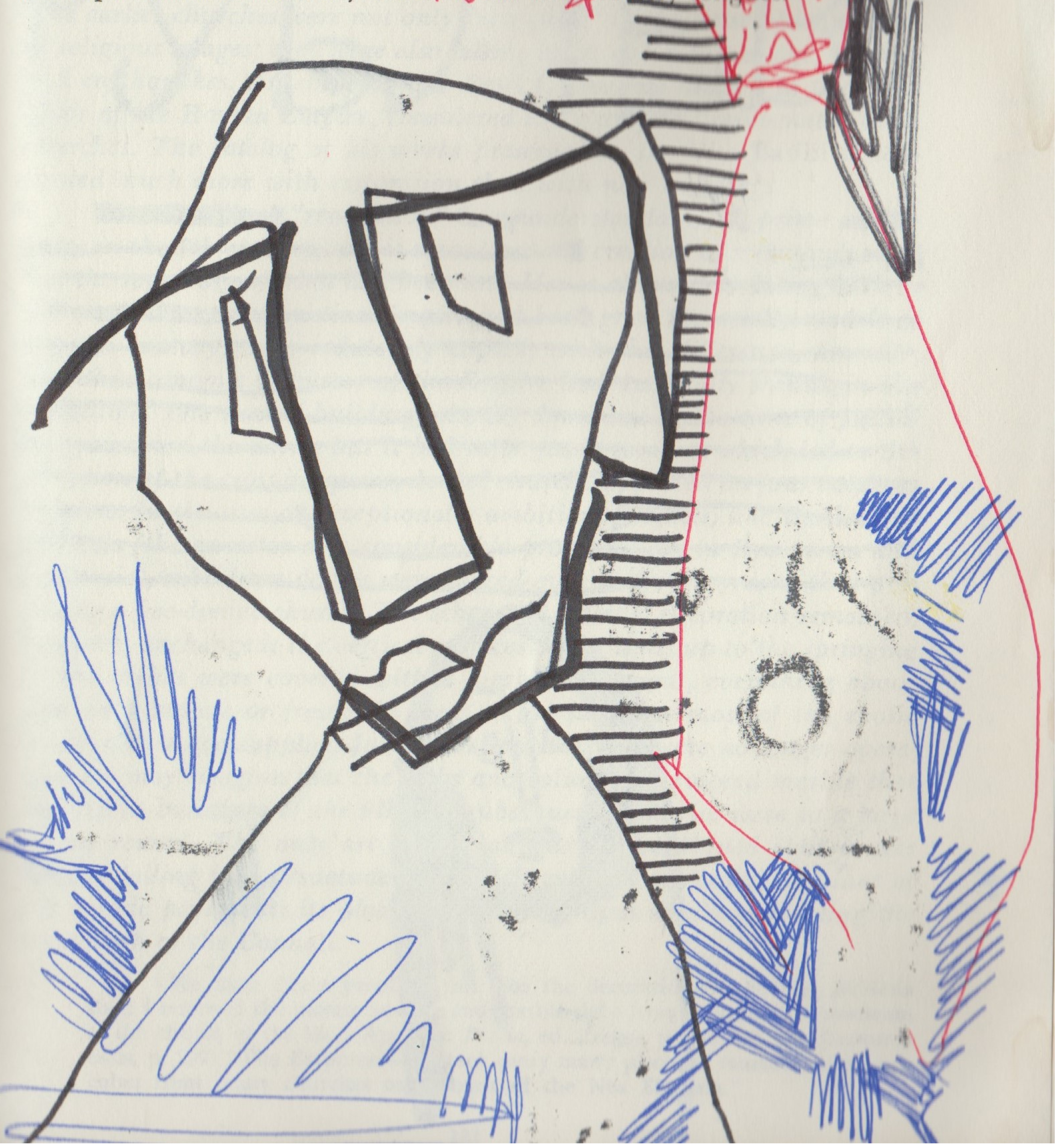
Saviour's life on earth, as it is made manifest in evangelical Scripture, and this they consigned not only to books,[119] but also delineated on panels. . . . Therefore, he who accepts the written account will necessarily accept the pictures (*historia*) as well. . . .

Nicephorus, *Antirrh.* III, 36:[120] And what are we to say concerning the sign of the cross? The very prototype of the cross, if one may so call it, i.e., the venerable and life-giving wood, which is revered by its faithful, they shamefully insult and dishonor. And what do these impious men think of the so-called phylacteries, i.e., the gold and silver objects which have been made by Christians from the very beginning, and which we Christians wear suspended from the neck and hanging down over the breast for the protection and security of our lives . . . for which reason they have received their name . . . and upon which the passion and miracles of Christ and His life-giving resurrection are often represented, which objects are found in countless number among Christians? Instead of preserving them, they abominate them; instead of seeking them, they avoid them.

***Epist. synod. patr. Orient.* 6:**[121] The holy apostles, who "from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word,"[122] even as they had heard and seen and their hands had handled the Word of life,[123] so they adorned the holy Church with painted pictures and mosaics representing the likeness of Christ, the God-man, and this before they had written the God-inspired Gospels. *The Gospel of Matthew was written eight years after the Ascension; that of Mark ten years after, that of Luke fifteen years after, that of John sixty-two years after.* Hence the custom of making pictures in churches is earlier [than the Gospels] and, using the painter's colors as a book,[124] they delineated the heavenly salutation of the archangel Gabriel to the holy Virgin Mary at Nazareth; the Saviour's holy Nativity at Bethlehem; the angelic vision accorded to the shepherds who beheld with their eyes the incarnate God; the Infant, wrapped in swaddling clothes, reclining in the manger, with animals standing by; the star guiding the Magi versed in astronomy; the royal gifts[125] brought by them to the new-born babe; Symeon receiving Him in his holy arms and the testimony of the righteous Anna; the Saviour's holy Baptism by the angelic John; the descent of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove

119 Referring presumably to illuminated manuscripts of the Gospels.
120 PG 100, 433.
121 Ed. Duchesne, pp. 273 ff. Cf. the Life of St. Pancratius of Taormina (p. 137) which also claims an apostolic origin for the New Testament picture cycle.
122 Luke 1:2.
123 I John 1:1.
124 The Greek text, as printed, is ungrammatical and possibly corrupt.
125 Emending *doruphorian*, as printed in the edition, to *dôrophorian*.

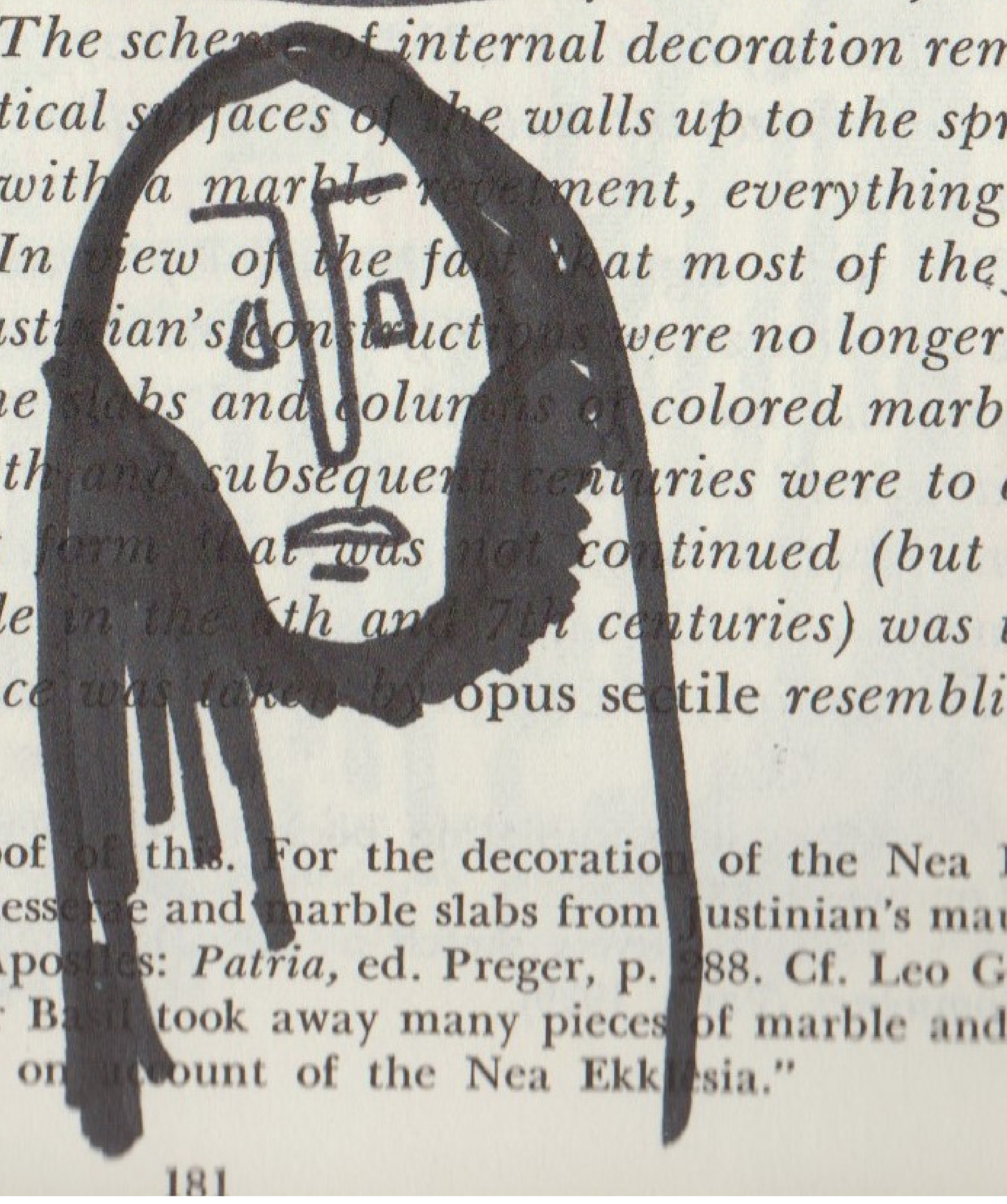
upon the one baptized; the manifestation of the wondrous and divine miracles of the Saviour; His willing and salutary sufferings; the supernatural and life-giving Resurrection after three days, the crushing of Death, the destruction of Hades and the fall of the devil; the holy women who brought unguents seeing the Saviour with their eyes and touching His immaculate feet; His apparition to the disciples who witnessed God; Thomas touching the divine chest from which life flowed forth, the immaculate hands and feet, and offering homage to the Lord; the Saviour's Ascension on the holy Mount of Olives; and likewise the subsequent incredible miracles of the apostles performed thanks to the visitation upon them of the Holy Ghost in the form of fiery tongues.



АНДРЕЙ РУБЛЕВ

The reestablishment of icon worship, coupled with a favorable political (and hence economic) situation, led to a vigorous artistic activity that seems to have lasted about a century. The most urgent artistic task facing the government in 843 was the redecoration of the churches that had been stripped of their religious images by the iconoclasts. This was no small matter considering the immense size of some of these earlier churches, like St. Sophia and the Holy Apostles. Teams of artists had to be organized and they had to be furnished with the necessary materials, such as mosaic tesserae which were evidently in short supply.[1] We must not imagine, therefore, that new mural decorations sprang up everywhere like mushrooms; it was a slow process that was spread over several decades. The earlier churches were not only "unsightly" in the sense of being bare of religious images; they were also falling apart as a result of age, neglect, and earthquakes. An emperor like Basil I, who saw himself as the renovator of the Roman Empire, considered it his duty to "rejuvenate" these churches. The catalog of his works preserved in the Vita Basilii is concerned much more with restoration than with new buildings.

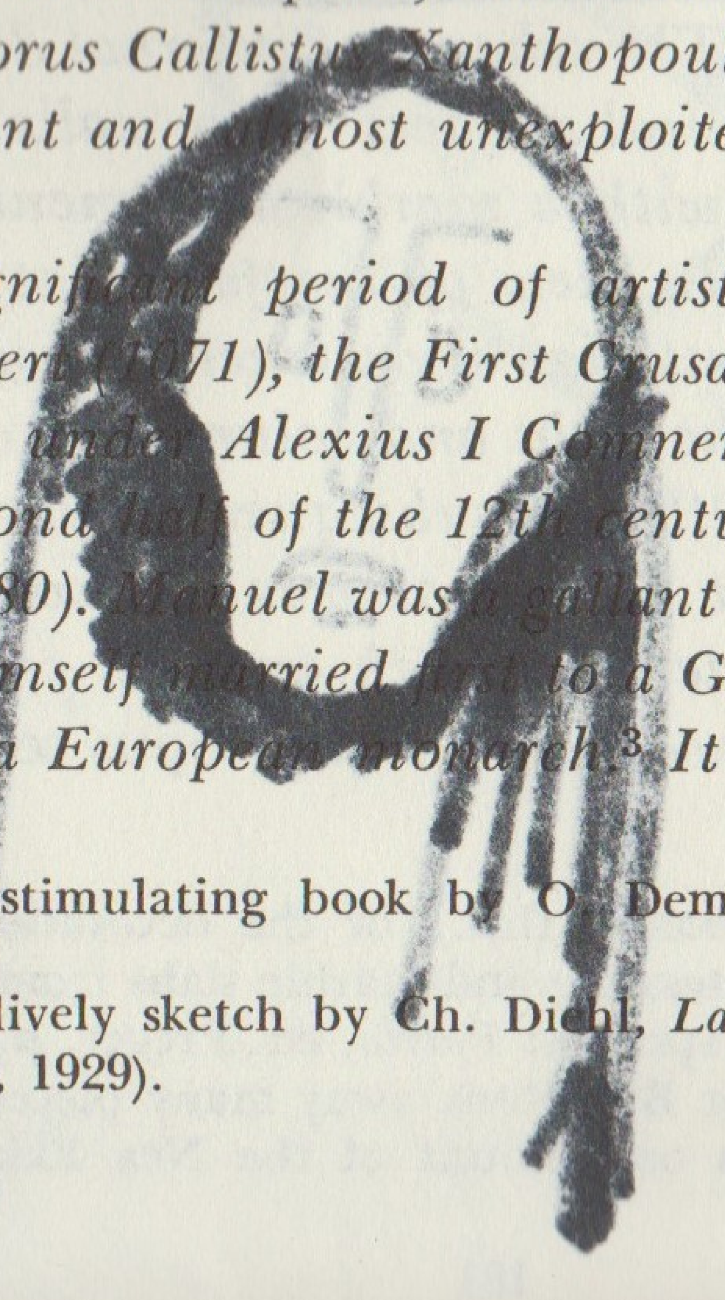
~~The concept of~~ "renovation" [redacted] understandably, [redacted] prime ~~importance in the 9th century, and it meant not~~ [redacted] creation of something ~~new but the regaining of what had been lost. Hence old models dating back to the time when the Christian Empire had been~~ great ~~(especially models of the 6th century) were sedulously copied, with this difference, however, that the economic resources of the Empire had drastically shrunk in the meantime. The domed building, already dominant at the time of Justinian, remained the norm, but it had to be made smaller, which led to the adoption of the cross-in-square, domed church supported on four columns or piers. In the case of~~ exceptionally ambitious ~~projects, like Basil's Nea Ekklêsia (the ancestor of a considerable progeny both in Byzantium and in Russia), subsidiary domes were placed over the four corners, thus pro~~ducing a five-domed church. The scheme of internal decoration remained, however, unchanged: the vertical surfaces of the walls up to the springing of the arches were covered with a marble revetment, everything above that with mosaic or fresco. In view of the fact that most of the exotic quarries that had supplied Justinian's constructions were no longer operative, we may imagine that the slabs and columns of colored marble that we find in buildings of the 9th and subsequent centuries were to a large extent reused. The only art form that was not continued (but it was already falling into desuetude in the 6th and 7th centuries) was that of the mosaic pavement: its place was taken by opus sectile resembling the later work of the Cosmati.



[1] We have direct proof of this. For the decoration of the Nea Ekklêsia Basil I removed the mosaic tesserae and marble slabs from Justinian's mausoleum at the church of the Holy Apostles: *Patria,* ed. Preger, p. 288. Cf. Leo Grammaticus, p. 257: "The Emperor Basil took away many pieces of marble and mosaic cubes from many churches on account of the Nea Ekklêsia."

In painting, too, we find not invention, but imitation, contraction and standardization. The smaller dimensions of the churches necessitated a reduction of the pictorial programs which became limited to the basic New Testament cycle of "major feasts" and a number of single figures placed in hierarchical order. Painting (or mosaic) and architecture achieved a perfect balance which has been called the "classical Byzantine system,"[2] *and is today known to us chiefly from monuments of the 11th century, such as Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni, and Daphni.*

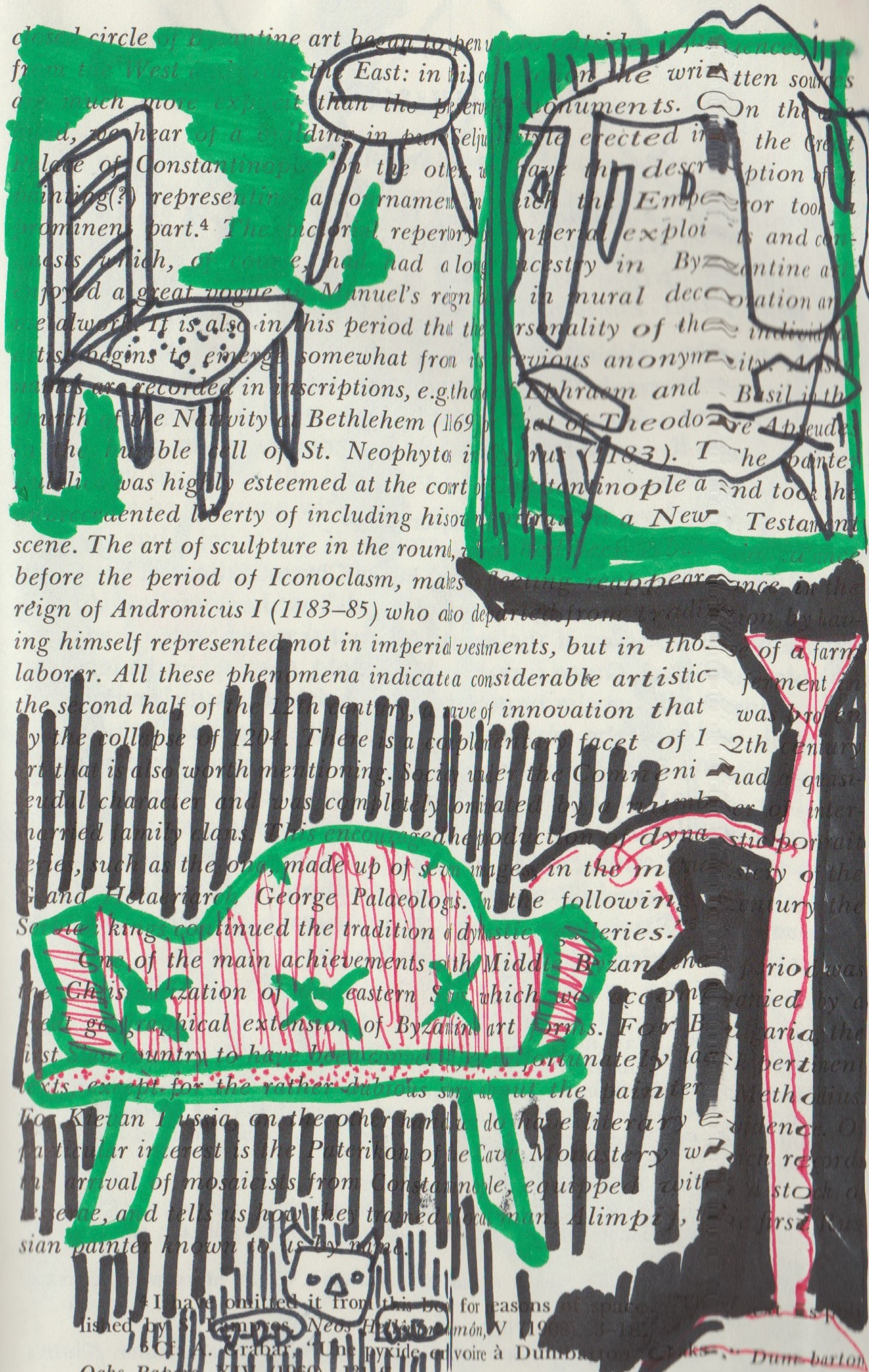
The period of artistic activity inaugurated under Michael III (842–67) appears to have continued until the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–59). It may be said in passing that the concept of a 10th century "Macedonian Renaissance," which figures so prominently in the cogitations of modern scholars, finds little support in Byzantine sources devoted to art. The military emperors who held sway in the latter part of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century—Nicephorus Phocas (963–69), John Tzimiskes (969–76), Basil II (976–1025)—were not active patrons of the arts. A second period of activity set in, however, in the period which historians today call that of the "rule of the civil aristocracy" (1025–81). This period ended in disaster, the conquest of the greater part of Asia Minor by the Seljuq Turks, and the consequent shift of the center of the Empire's gravity to its Balkan possessions. The 11th century witnessed a number of lavish imperial foundations, such as St. Mary Peribleptos, St. George of the Mangana and Nea Moni on Chios, and is relatively well represented in extant monuments, but it cannot be said to have introduced any interesting artistic innovations. It may be worth noting, however, that epigrams devoted to works of art reappear at this time. They are admittedly rather tedious, and many of them are buried in inaccessible publications; yet, starting with the poems of Christophoros Mitylenaios and John Mavropous, and continuing until those of Manuel Philes and Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos in the 14th century, they provide an abundant and almost unexploited source of information for art historians.



The next significant period of artistic endeavor, following the débacle *of Mantzikert (1071), the First Crusade, and the consolidation of the Byzantine state under Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) falls toward the middle and second half of the 12th century, particularly in the reign of Manuel I (1143–80). Manuel was a gallant knight, and admirer of western customs and himself married first to a German and next to a French princess—in short, a European monarch.*[3] *It seems that in his reign the*

[2] See the stimulating book by O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948).

[3] See the lively sketch by Ch. Diehl, *La société byzantine à l'époque des Comnènes* (Paris, 1929).



Michael III (842–67)

Funerary Portraits

Translatio S. Theodori Studitae, 14.[6] *The bodies of St. Theodore Studite and of his brother Joseph, bishop of Thessalonica, were brought to Constantinople in 844 and buried in the monastery of Studius, in the same tomb that contained the remains of their uncle Plato.*

And now their tomb . . . provides abundant grace and benefit to those that approach it. When, by night or day, we draw nigh to their remains, when we gaze at their sacred images which are depicted at the tomb, it is as if we were seeing the holy Fathers themselves. . . .

The Chrysotriklinos

***Anthol. graeca* I, 106.** [Inscription] in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace, round the ceiling:[7] The ray of Truth has shone forth again and has dimmed the eyes of the impostors.[8] Piety has grown, error has fallen, faith blooms and Grace spreads out. For behold, once again the image of Christ shines above the imperial throne[9] and confounds the murky heresies; while above the entrance is represented the Virgin as divine gate[10] and guardian. The Emperor and the Bishop[11] are depicted close by along with their collaborators inasmuch as they have driven away error, and all round the building, like guards, [stand] angels, apostles, martyrs, priests. Hence we call "the new Christotriklinos" that which aforetime had been given a golden name,[12] since it contains the throne of Christ, our Lord, the forms of Christ's Mother and Christ's heralds, and the image of Michael whose deeds are filled with wisdom.

6 Ed. Van de Vorst, p. 60.

7 The Chrysotriklinos was the principal throne room of the Great Palace. The decoration described in this epigram must have been executed between 856 and 866 because no reference is made, on the one hand, to the Empress Theodora who was expelled from the palace in 856, and, on the other, to Basil I, crowned coemperor in 866.

8 The Iconoclasts.

9 The emperor's throne was placed in the eastern apse of the Chrysotriklinos. The image of the enthroned Christ was probably in the semidome of the apse.

10 The Gate was a standard symbol of the Virgin Mary with reference to Ezek. 44:2.

11 The Patriarch Photius.

12 A pun on Chrysotriklinos (Golden Hall) and Christotriklinos (Christ's Hall).

The Church of the Virgin of the Pharos

Photius, *Homil.* X, 4 ff.[13] *The following description has long been considered to refer to the New Church* (Nea Ekklêsia) *built by Basil I and inaugurated in 880. In fact, it concerns the church of the Virgin of the Pharos situated very close to the Chrysotriklinos in the Imperial Palace.*[14] *This was the palatine chapel* par excellence *and the repository of the most precious relics of Christendom.*

4. The atrium of the church is splendidly fashioned: for slabs of white marble, gleaming bright and cheerful, occupy the whole façade (*prosopsis*), and by their evenness and smoothness and close fitting they conceal the setting of one to another and the juncture of their edges, so that they suggest to the beholder's imagination the continuousness of a single [piece of] stone with, as it were, straight lines ruled on it—a new miracle and a joy to see. Wherefore, arresting and turning towards themselves the spectator's gaze, they make him unwilling to move further in; but taking his fill of the fair spectacle in the very atrium, and fixing his eyes on the sight before him, the visitor stands as if rooted [to the ground] with wonder. Legends proclaim the lyre of Thracian Orpheus, whose notes stirred inanimate things. If it were our privilege also to erect truth into legends and make it awe-inspiring, one might say that visitors to the atrium were turned with wonder into the form of trees: so firmly is one held having but seen it once.

5. But when with difficulty one has torn oneself away from there and looked into the church itself, with what joy and trepidation and astonishment is one filled! It is as if one had entered heaven itself with no one barring the way from any side, and was illuminated by the beauty in all forms shining all around like so many stars, so is one utterly amazed. Thenceforth it seems that everything is in ecstatic motion, and the church itself is circling round. For the spectator, through his whirling about in all directions and being constantly astir, which he is forced to experience by the variegated spectacle on all sides, imagines that his personal condition is transferred to the object.

6. Gold and silver cover the greater part of the church, the one smeared on tesserae, the other cut out and fashioned into plaques, or otherwise applied to other parts. Over here are capitals adorned [with gold], over there are golden cornices. Elsewhere gold is twined into chains,

13 Ed. Laourdas, pp. 100 ff.; trans. Mango, pp. 185 ff.

14 See R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IX–X (1956), 123 ff.

but more wonderful than gold is the composition of the holy table. The little doors and columns of the sanctuary together with the peristyle[15] are covered with silver; so also is the conical roof set over the holy table with the little pillars that support the canopy. The rest of the church, as much of it as gold has not overspread or silver covered, is adorned with many-hued marble, a surpassingly fair work. The pavement, which has been fashioned into the forms of animals and other shapes by means of variegated tesserae, exhibits the marvellous skill of the craftsman, so that the famous Pheidias and Parrhasius and Praxiteles and Zeuxis are proved in truth to have been mere children in their art and makers of figments. Democritus would have said, I think, on seeing the minute work of the pavement and taking it as a piece of evidence, that his atoms were close to being discovered here actually impinging on the sight. So full of wonder is everything. In one respect only do I consider the architect of the church to have erred, namely that having gathered into one and the same spot all kinds of beauty, he does not allow the spectator to enjoy the sight in its purity, since the latter is carried and pulled away from one thing by another, and is unable to satiate himself with the spectacle as much as he may desire.

6. But something has escaped me, although it should have been said first (for the wonder of the church does not permit the orator to do his own task fairly in words), so it shall be said now. On the very ceiling is painted in colored mosaic cubes a man-like figure bearing the traits of Christ. Thou mightest say He is overseeing the earth, and devising its orderly arrangement and government, so accurately has the painter been inspired to represent, though only in forms and in colors, the Creator's care for us. In the concave segments next to the summit of the hemisphere[16] a throng of angels is pictured escorting our common Lord. The apse which rises over the sanctuary glistens with the image of the Virgin, stretching out her stainless arms on our behalf and winning for the emperor safety and exploits against the foes. A choir of apostles and martyrs, yea, of prophets, too, and patriarchs fill and beautify the whole church with their images. Of these, one,[17] though silent, cries out his sayings of yore, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth in the courts of the Lord";[18] another,[19] "How wonderful is this place; this is none other but the house of God. . . ."[20]

[15] Referring to the chancel-screen with its peristyle of little columns.
[16] This suggests that the dome was gored.
[17] David.
[18] Ps. 83:2–3.
[19] Jacob.
[20] Gen. 28:17.

Was without form and void

and Darkness was upon the

An Image of the Virgin in St. Sophia

Photius, *Homil.* XVII, 2 ff.[21] *The image in question, inaugurated on March 29, 867, is in all probability the mosaic still extant in the apse of St. Sophia.*[22]

With such a welcome does the representation of the Virgin's form cheer us, inviting us to draw not from a bowl of wine, but from a fair spectacle, by which the rational part of our soul, being watered through our bodily eyes, and given eyesight in its growth towards the divine love of Orthodoxy, puts forth in the way of fruit the most exact vision of truth. Thus, even in her images does the Virgin's grace delight, comfort and strengthen us! A virgin mother carrying in her pure arms, for the common salvation of our kind, the common Creator reclining as an infant —that great and ineffable mystery of the Dispensation! A virgin mother, with a virgin's and a mother's gaze, dividing in indivisible form her temperament between both capacities, yet belittling neither by its incompleteness. With such exactitude has the art of painting, which is a reflection of inspiration from above, set up a lifelike imitation. For, as it were, she fondly turns her eyes on her begotten Child in the affection of her heart, yet assumes the expression of a detached and imperturbable mood at the passionless and wondrous nature of her offspring, and composes her gaze accordingly. You might think her not incapable of speaking, even if one were to ask her, "How didst thou give birth and remainest a virgin?" To such an extent have the lips been made flesh by the colors, that they appear merely to be pressed together and stilled as in the mysteries, yet their silence is not at all inert neither is the fairness of her form derivatory, but rather is it the real archetype.

3. Seest thou of what beauty was the face of the Church bereft?[23] Of what splendor was it deprived? Over what graces did gloomy dejection prevail? That was the daring deed of a wretched Jewish hand,[24] lacking in no insolence. This is a most conspicuous token of a heart seized by God and of the Lord's love, whereby the initiated band of the apostles were led to perfection, through which the martyrs' winged course sped to the crowns of victory, and the prophets, God's tongues, with knowledge of future things and truthful foretelling, came unto men [bringing] undoubting belief. For verily are these things the prizes and gifts of a

[21] Ed. Laourdas, pp. 166 ff.; trans. Mango, pp. 290 ff.
[22] See C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX (1965), 113 ff.
[23] I.e., during the period of Iconoclasm.
[24] The iconoclasts, because of their rejection of images, were often likened to the Jews.

most sincere and divine love, from which depends likewise the veneration of holy images, just as their destruction [comes] from an irrepressible and most foul hatred. Those men, after stripping the Church, Christ's bride, of her own ornaments, and wantonly inflicting bitter wounds on her, wherewith her face was scarred, sought in their insolence to submerge her in deep oblivion, naked as she was, so to speak, and unsightly, and afflicted with those many wounds—herein, too, emulating Jewish folly. Still bearing on her body the scars of those wounds, in reproof of their Isaurian[25] and godless belief, and wiping them off, and in their stead putting on the splendor of her own glory, she now regains the ancient dignity of her comeliness, and sheds the rude mockery of those who have insulted her, pitying their truly absurd madness. If one called this day the beginning and day of Orthodoxy (lest I say something excessive), one would not be far wrong. For though the time is short since the pride of the iconoclastic heresy has been reduced to ashes, and true religion has spread its light to the ends of the world, fired like a beacon by imperial and divine command, this too is our ornament; for it is the achievement of the same God-loving reign.

4. And so, as the eye of the universe, this celebrated and sacred church, looked sad with its visual mysteries scraped off, as it were (for it had not yet received the privilege of pictorial restoration),[26] it shed but faint rays from its face to visitors, and in this respect the countenance of Orthodoxy appeared gloomy. Now, casting off this sadness also, and beautifying herself with all her own conspicuous ornaments, and displaying her rich dowry, gladly and joyously she hearkens to the Bridegroom's voice, Who cries out saying, "All fair is my companion, and there is no spot in her. Fair is my companion."[27] For, having mingled the bloom of colors with religious truth, and by means of both having in holy manner fashioned unto herself a holy beauty, and bearing, so to speak, a complete and perfect image of piety, she is seen not only to be fair in beauty surpassing the sons of men,[28] but elevated to an inexpressible fairness of dignity beyond any comparison beside. . . .

5. We, too, with gladness and joy in our souls, join the choir of this festival, and sharing today in the celebration of this restoration, we exclaim those prophetic words, saying, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion; cry aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem. The Lord has taken away thine injuries; He has delivered thee from the hand of thine enemies.[29] Lift up

25 Referring to Leo III the Isaurian and his descendants.

26 The Virgin in the apse was apparently the first image to have been set up in St. Sophia after the suppression of Iconoclasm. At the time when Photius was speaking the rest of the church would thus have been devoid of religious images.

27 Cf. Solomon's Song 4:7.

28 Ps. 44:3.

29 Zeph. 3:14–15.

thine eyes round about, and see thy children gathered. For behold, all thy sons have come from far, yea and thy daughters,[30] bearing unto thee not gold and frankincense[31] and stones, all begotten of the earth and by human custom adorning what is precious, but purer than all gold, and more precious than all stones, the ancestral faith unadulterated. Rejoice and delight thyself with all thine heart,[32] for behold, the Lord is coming, and He shall fix His tabernacle in thy midst."[33] What could be more agreeable than this day? What could be more explicit than this feast to give expression to gladness and joy? This is another shaft being driven today right through the heart of Death, not as the Saviour is engulfed by the tomb of mortality for the common resurrection of our kind, but as the image of the Mother rises up from the very depths of oblivion, and raises along with herself the likenesses of the saints.[34] Christ came to us in the flesh, and was borne in the arms of His Mother. This is seen and confirmed and proclaimed in pictures, the teaching made manifest by means of personal eyewitness, and impelling the spectators to unhesitating assent. Does a man hate the teaching by means of pictures? Then how could he not have previously rejected and hated the message of the Gospels? Just as speech [is transmitted] by hearing, so a form through sight is imprinted upon the tablets of the soul, giving to those whose apprehension is not soiled by wicked doctrines a representation of knowledge concordant with piety. Martyrs have suffered for their love of God, showing with their blood the ardor of their desire, and their memory is contained in books. These [deeds] they are also seen performing in pictures, as painting presents the martyrdom of those blessed men more vividly to our knowledge. Others have been burnt alive, a sacrifice sanctified by their prayer, fasting and other labors. These things are conveyed both by stories and by pictures, but it is the spectators rather than the hearers who are drawn to emulation. The Virgin is holding the Creator in her arms as an infant. Who is there who would not marvel, more from the sight of it than from the report, at the magnitude of the mystery, and would not rise up to laud the ineffable condescension that surpasses all words? For even if the one introduces the other, yet the comprehension that comes about through sight is shown in very fact to be far superior to the learning that penetrates through the ears. Has a man lent his ear to a story? Has his intelligence visualized and drawn to itself what he has heard? Then, after judging it with sober attention, he deposits it in his memory. No less—indeed much greater—is the power of sight. For surely,

30 Isaiah 60:4.

31 Isaiah 60:6.

32 Zeph. 3:14.

33 Zeph. 3:15.

34 This may mean that mosaics representing various saints were then in the process of execution.

having somehow through the outpouring and effluence of the optical rays touched and encompassed the object, it too sends the essence of the thing over on to the mind, letting it be conveyed from there to the memory for the concentration of unfailing knowledge. Has the mind seen? Has it grasped? Has it visualized? Then it has effortlessly transmitted the forms to the memory.

6. Is there one who rejects the holy writings on these matters and, in spite of the fact that all lies are dispelled by them, considers them to be not above dispute? Then this man has long since transgressed by scorning the veneration of holy images. Does he, on the contrary, reverence the latter, and honor them with proper respect? Then he will be disposed likewise towards the writings. If he treats either one with reverence or with contempt, he necessarily bestows the same on the other, unless, in addition to being impious, he has also abandoned reason, and is not only irreverent, but also preaches things which are in conflict with his own position. Those, therefore, who have slipped into assailing the holy images are proved not to have kept the correctness of doctrine either, but with the one they abjure the other. They do not dare confess what they believe, chary, not of being impious, but of appearing so, and they avoid the name whereof they willingly pursue the actions. Abominable in their misdeeds, they are more abominable in their impiety. Their whole offshoot has perished, branches, roots and all, even as the wondrous David in his canticles sings of the memorial of the impious being destroyed with a noise,[35] and it is He Whom they have set at nought through His picture Who has passed righteous judgment on them. But before our eyes is set up motionless the Virgin carrying the Creator in her arms as an infant, [depicted] in painting as she is in writings and visions,[36] an interceder for our salvation and a teacher of reverence to God, a grace of the eyes and a grace of the mind, carried by which the divine love in us is uplifted to the intelligible beauty of truth.

A Picture of the Last Judgment

Theophanes Continuatus, pp. 163–64. *This is a legendary account of the conversion to Christianity of King Boris of Bulgaria (in 864).* The following is said to have happened, namely that the ruler Bogoris [Boris], who was consumed by a great passion for hunting, wished to represent subjects of that kind in one of his houses that he used to frequent, so that he might enjoy their sight both by day and by night. Seized by this desire, he summoned one of our Roman[37] monks, a painter called Methodius, and when the latter came into his presence, he commanded him (through some divine inspiration) to paint not the killing of men in battle or the slaughter of wild beasts, but anything he might wish, on condition that the sight of the painting should induce fear and amazement in its spectators. The painter, who did not know of any subject more apt to inspire fear than the Second Coming of the Lord, depicted it there, with the righteous on one side receiving the reward for their labors, and the sinners on the other reaping the fruit of their misdeeds and being harshly driven away to the punishment that had been threatened to them. When he [Boris] had seen the finished painting, he conceived thereby the fear of God, and after being instructed in our holy mysteries, he partook of divine baptism in the dead of night.

[35] Ps. 9:7.
[36] On the identity of icon and vision see p. xv.
[37] I.e., Byzantine.

Illuminated Manuscripts

Nicetas Paphlago, *Vita S. Ignatii*, col. 450 f. *Upon the accession of Basil I on September 24, 867, the patriarch Photius was deposed and banished to a monastery, while his rival Ignatius was reinstated as patriarch.*

He [Basil] sent an emissary to Photius and requested him to surrender without delay all the documents he had, on his departure, removed from the Patriarchate. Photius lied under oath that he had taken nothing of the kind from there because he had left hurriedly. While, however, he was saying this to the *praepositus* Baanes,[38] his servants, bewildered as they were, stole to a nearby reed-bed with a view to hiding there six bags sealed with lead. The bags were seen by the men of the *praepositus* who snatched them away and brought them before the Emperor. Having opened these, they found two volumes adorned on the outside with gold, silver and silken cloth, while inside they were elegantly and carefully written in beautiful lettering. One of them contained seven synodal Acts against Ignatius, which in fact had never taken place—Acts which had been concocted in vain by an evil mind. At the beginning of each Act Ignatius was represented in colored painting, this being the handiwork of the Syracusan Asbestas[39] (for the splendid fellow was also a painter in addition to his other vices). At the head of the First Act—O his ungoverned rage, O his unsurpassable madness!—he portrayed Ignatius being dragged and beaten, and above his head he wrote "The Devil." . . . At the Second Act he showed him being spat upon and violently pulled about, and the inscription [said]: "The Origin of Sin." At the Third he was shown deposed and [it was written:] "The Son of Perdition." At the Fourth Act he portrayed him being fettered and banished, and he wrote:

[38] The Emperor's emissary.
[39] Gregory Asbestas, bishop of Syracuse, a supporter of the patriarch Photius. The miniatures described here were evidently a parody of a martyrdom cycle.

"The Greed of Simon the Sorcerer." At the beginning of the Fifth he represented him wearing a prisoner's collar with this abusive inscription: "He who raises himself above God and above worship." At the Sixth he depicted him already condemned and there was this empty dictum against Ignatius: "The Abomination of Desolation."[40] At the Seventh and last he painted him being dragged along and beheaded (?), and the inscription he wrote was "The Antichrist."

Basil I (867–86)

Building at Constantinople

***Vita Basilii*, pp. 321 ff.** 78. Between his warlike endeavors which he often, for the sake of his subjects, directed to a good end like a president of athletic contests, the Christ-loving emperor Basil, by means of continuous care and the abundant supply of all necessary things, raised from ruin many holy churches that had been rent asunder by prior earthquakes or had entirely fallen down or were threatening immediate collapse on account of the fractures [they had sustained], and to solidity he added [a new] beauty. . . . Of this we shall give a detailed account.

79. The western arch of the famous holy church that has received the name of God's Wisdom[41]—I mean the great one high up in the air—which arch had been considerably cracked and was threatening imminent collapse, he tightened up and restored, thanks to the skill of his craftsmen, and so made it secure and steadfast. In it he depicted an image of the Mother of God holding in her arms her Son, born without seed, and on either side he set up the chiefs of the apostles Peter and Paul. He also repaired most liberally the other fractures of this church both as regards building and expenditures, and not only did he correct the unsound walls, but he also increased by his own donations the diminished income [of the church]. . . .

80. Likewise the famous great church of the Holy Apostles, which had lost its former beauty and firmness, he fortified by the addition of buttresses and the reconstruction of broken parts, and having scraped off the signs of old age and removed the wrinkles, he made it once more beautiful and new. Also the holy church of the Mother of God at the Pêgê [Source][42] that had decayed and shed its pristine beauty he renewed and wrought more splendid than before. And similarly the other church of the Mother of God called the Sigma[43] that had suffered a grievous collapse he rebuilt from the foundations and made it more solid than the

40 Matt. 24:15.
41 St. Sophia.
42 Cf. p. 103.
43 In the western part of Constantinople. See Janin, *Eglises*, pp. 239 f.

previous one. He furthermore rebuilt from the foundations the church of the first martyr Stephen at Aurelianae[44] that had fallen to the ground. As for the holy churches of the Baptist who was also the Forerunner, the one at Strobylaea[45] he rebuilt from the foundations, while that at Makedonianae[46] for the greater part, so also the fane of the apostle Philip and that of the Evangelist Luke,[47] lying to the west of it, he purged of their old damage and made new. 81. And furthermore he deemed worthy of his solicitude and raised entirely from ruin the big church of the martyr Mocius[48] which had suffered many fractures and whose sanctuary part had fallen down and crushed the altar table. And the church of Andrew,[49] the first-called among the apostles, which stands close to St. Mocius in a westerly direction, and which had crumbled to pieces from neglect, he raised to its ancient beauty by means of proper measures. Furthermore, the church of St. Romanus,[50] which, too, had fallen down, he rebuilt from the foundations, and those of St. Anna in the Deuteron[51] and of Christ's martyr Demetrius[52] he made new and comely. And as for that of the martyr Aemilianus,[53] which adjoins the church of the Mother of God at Rhabdos, perceiving it to be disfigured by old age, he renewed and fortified on either side by means of buttresses. 82. Furthermore, the holy church of the martyr Nazarius,[54] which had not only fallen down a long time previously, but had entirely disappeared, he built anew far surpassing its prior form in nobility and beauty. He also repaired and beautified the handsome church at the Portico of Domninus—the one that is dedicated to the Resurrection of Christ our God and to the martyr Anastasia[55]—by substituting a stone for a wooden roof and adding other admirable adornments. Seeing likewise that the church of Plato,[56] great among martyrs, had a damaged roof, he made it new and repaired the walls wherever necessary. And the church of the glorious martyrs Hesperus and Zoe,[57] which had been almost levelled to the ground, he rebuilt in a form corresponding to its old one. In addition, the holy church of the martyr Acacius at Heptascalon,[58] which was on the point of

44 See *ibid.*, pp. 488 f.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 455.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 432.
47 *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 508 f.
48 *Ibid.*, pp. 367 ff.
49 *Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff.
50 *Ibid.*, pp. 463 ff.
51 *Ibid.*, pp. 39 ff.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
53 *Ibid.*, pp. 16 f.
54 *Ibid.*, pp. 372 f.
55 *Ibid.*, pp. 26 ff.
56 *Ibid.*, p. 418.
57 *Ibid.*, pp. 119 f.
58 *Ibid.*, pp. 18 f. This church was attributed to Constantine I.

dissolution and collapse, he strengthened by means of various reinforcements and so saved it from ruin and caused it to stand solid. As for the church of the prophet Elijah at the Petrion,[59] which was, so to speak, expiring, he nursed it back to health and rebuilt it splendidly, having furthermore freed it from the constriction of surrounding houses.

83. But why do we dwell on his lesser achievements, great as they are, and not include that admirable work of his which he built in the very imperial palace, himself supervising it and creating it—which work is in itself sufficient to express his piety towards the Godhead and the wonderful grandeur of his undertaking? For repaying, as it were, for their benevolence on his behalf, Christ, our Lord, and Gabriel, primate of the angelic host, and Elijah, the zealous Tishbite (who had announced to his mother her son's elevation to the throne), he built in their name and to their eternal memory—of them and, furthermore, of the Mother of God and Nicholas, chief among bishops—a holy and beautiful church[60] in which art, riches, an ardent faith and a bountiful zeal were all combined and the most beautiful materials were gathered together from every quarter which have to be seen (rather than heard of) to be believed. This church, like a bride adorned with pearls and gold, with gleaming silver, with the variety of many-hued marble, with compositions of mosaic tesserae and clothing of silken stuffs, he offered to Christ, the immortal Bridegroom. 84. Its roof, consisting of five domes, gleams with gold and is resplendent with beautiful images as with stars, while on the outside it is adorned with brass that resembles gold. The walls on either side are beautified with costly marbles of many hues, while the sanctuary is enriched with gold and silver, precious stones and pearls. The barrier that separates the sanctuary from the nave, including the columns that pertain to it and the lintel that is above them; the seats that are within [the sanctuary] and the steps that are in front of them, and the holy tables themselves—all of these are compacted of silver suffused with gold, of precious stones and costly pearls. As for the pavement, it appears to be covered with silken stuffs of Sidonian workmanship: to such an extent has it been adorned all over with marble slabs of different colors enclosed by tessellated bands of varied aspect, all accurately joined together and abounding in elegance. . . .

85. Such is the church with regard to its interior. . . . But how marvellous, too, is it on the outside! On the western side, in the very atrium, stand two fountains, the one to the south, the other to the north. . . . The southern one is made of Egyptian stone which we are wont to call Roman[61] and is encircled by serpents excellently carved. In the middle

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 144 f.
60 The Nea Ekklêsia.
61 Porphyry.

the prize as regards all kinds of beauty. Next to it stands the chapel of the heavenly Paul that has already been mentioned, joined to another of the martyr Barbara, built by Leo, the most wise.[75] And furthermore, the other imperial residences—the ones that are situated eastward of the Chrysotriklinos and on a higher level than the latter, while being to the west of the New Church, and are called Aetos [the Eagle] because they rise to a great height in the air (wherein also is the most beautiful and agreeable church of the Mother of God)—are works of the same Emperor. . . . Likewise the pyramidal resid[illegible] to the west of the latter as well as another chapel of the Mother [illegible] the Word, which, by the sumptuousness and novelty of th[illegible] surpass many other buildings, boast him as their creator. Below these, at the very gate called Monothyros, is the very pleasing ch[illegible] the Evangelist which the same Emperor built along with the [illegible] walk that is paved with marble and extends as far as the [illegible] and likewise the very solid buildings that are to the east of it, o[illegible] which [illegible] as a treasury and the other as a *vestiarium*, bo[illegible] combining attractiveness with security. He, too, it was that elegantly [illegible] that very beautiful, large and well-illuminated bath of the palace [illegible] is above the so-called Phiale [Fountain]—a name left over by the [illegible] fountain of the [illegible] faction that formerly stood there. . . .[76] As fo[illegible] fountain of the other faction, I mean of the Greens, it used to stand [illegible] court of the palace, but was moved when the holy church that is there was built, and so the attendance of the factions at these [fountains] ceased and the ceremonies performed there were discontinued.[77]

The Decoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles

Constantinus Rhodius, *Descr. of Church of Holy Apostles.* *The date of this mosaic decoration has been much disputed. Some scholars suppose that it went back in whole or in part to the reign of Justin II (565–78).*[78]

75 Leo VI.
76 See p. 131.
77 The text goes on, without, however, providing any interesting details regarding either architecture or decoration, to enumerate further constructions of Basil I under the following headings: (1) Palaces other than the Great Palace that were either built *de novo* or added to, namely those of the Mangana, Pêgae, and Hiereia; (2) Churches at Constantinople, namely those of the Virgin at the Forum of Constantine, of the Chalkoprateia (heightened and given better illumination), of St. Michael in the quarter of Tzêros (restored), of St. Laurence at Pulcherianae (rebuilt), and "about a hundred other churches," as well as hospices for the poor, the sick and the aged, and monasteries; (3) Churches rebuilt in the suburbs of Constantinople, namely those of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist at the Hebdomon, of St. Peter at Rhêgion, of St. Callinicus by the stream Bathyrsus, of St. Phocas and St. Michael on the Bosphorus.
78 For the relevant bibliography see V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), p. 35, n. 2.

I tend to to believe that it dated from the restoration of the building by Basil I.[79] Constantine's description which stops with the Crucifixion is evidently incomplete. For a later account see p. 232 f.

[626] The craftsman has piously ordained that the central [dome] should be elevated and rule over the others,[80] destined as it was to be the Lord's great throne, and to protect His precious image which has been delineated in the middle of the famous church. . . .

[737] In the middle of the costly ceiling, it [the church] bears a representation of Christ as if He were the sun, a wonder exceeding all wonders; next, like the moon, that of the stainless Virgin, and, like the stars, those of the wise Apostles. The whole inner space has been covered with a mixture of gold and glass,[81] as much as forms the domed roof and rises above the hollowed arches, down to [the revetment of] multicolored marbles and the second cornice.[82] Represented here are the deeds and venerable forms which narrate the abasement of the Logos and His presence among us mortals.

[751] The first miracle[83] is that of Gabriel bringing to a virgin maiden [the tidings of] the incarnation of the Logos and filling her with divine joy. . . .

[760] The second[84] is that of Bethlehem and the cave, the Virgin's giving birth without pain, the Infant, wrapped in swaddling clothes, reclining—O wonder—in a poor manger, the angels singing divine hymns, . . . the rustic lyre of the shepherds sounding the song of God's nativity.

[771] The third[85] is the Magi hastening from Persia to do homage to the all-pure Logos. . . .

[780] The fourth[86] is Simeon, the old man, bearing the infant Christ in his arms. . . . And that strange old prophetess Anna foretelling for all to hear the deeds which the infant was destined to accomplish. . . .

[792] The fifth is the Baptism received from the hands of John by the stream of the Jordan; the Father testifying to the Logos from above, and the Spirit coming down in the guise of a bird. . . .

[804] Sixth, you may see Christ ascending that thrice-glorious mount of Tabor together with a chosen band of disciples and friends,[87] altering His mortal form; His face shining with rays more dazzling than those of

79 Another Gospel cycle was put up by Basil I in the church of the Virgin of the Source (Pêgê): *Anthol. graeca*, I, 109 ff.

80 I.e., the central dome, placed over the crossing, was higher than the other four. For the architectural form of the church see p. 103.

81 I.e., gold mosaic.

82 The upper cornice at the springing of the arches.

83 The Annunciation.

84 The Nativity.

85 The Adoration of the Magi.

86 The Presentation in the Temple.

87 The Transfiguration.

the sun; His garments [illegible] as well as Elijah standing by Him [illegible] disciples, upon hearing the thunderlike voice [illegible] face down [illegible] ground. . . .

[829] Next, you may see [illegible] son, who had been brought on a bier to his tomb, returning [illegible] joyful to his house. . . .[88]

[834] Then again, Lazarus [illegible] been laid in his grave and had rotted four days long . . . [illegible] tomb like a gazelle and returning once more to mortal [illegible] corruption.

[844] Next, Christ mounted [illegible] proceeding to the city of the God-slayers,[89] the crowds, with [illegible] palm leaves acclaiming Him as the Lord when He arrives [illegible] very gates of Zion. . . .

[859] In addition to all the [illegible] wonders, you will see, O excellent reader, this further astounding spectacle, an altogether exceptional one, which the artist has painted better than anything else in the church so as to move to tears and heart-felt pity those who behold this image of the Passion: . . . Judas, that wretched man, betraying his Lord and teacher to be murdered . . . by an evil and abominable people . . . a countless rabble armed with swords, staffs, clubs and sticks. . . . The artist has painted his very manner [illegible] savage cast of his face, his pale countenance, clenched jaws, hateful eyes filled with murder, nostrils as of an asp, breathing anger. . . . His feet, set wide apart, hasten with big strides on their [illegible] and his two hands strive to catch the Lord. . . .

[916] The seventh[90] spectacle you may see among [illegible] these wonders of Christ's Passion . . . painted with feeling. . . . What man, even if he had [illegible] of stone, upon seeing the image of the Passion, would not be amazed in his spirit as he beholds this altogether astonishing event: Christ, naked, stretched out on the cross between two condemned crimin[illegible] . . . his hands and feet pierced with nails, his side disfigured by the [illegible] of a lance after He had tasted vinegar and gall, hanging dead upon the wood of the [illegible] in sight of His mother, the pure Virgin, [illegible] was present at the Passion. . . .

The Church of the Virgin at Pêgê

***De sacris aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem*, p. 882:** After the disaster[91] the Christ-loving Emperor Basil who was then ruling the Roman state [illegible] to pull the church down to its foundations and to rebuild it in a larger and more imposing form. He was, however, prevented from so doing by some dignitaries, and so he restored only those parts that had fallen down, namely the dome which he rebuilt starting from the upper

88 The Raising of the widow's son at Nain (Luke 7:11 ff.).

89 The Entry into Jerusalem.

90 In fact, the eleventh.

91 I.e., the earthquake of 869.

fastenings that join together.[92] When the ladders were set up so that the men who were going to execute the holy images in mosaic might climb to a sufficient height—it was the holy feast of the Descent of the Ghost that was being represented by the application of various colors and lineaments—it happened that the scaffolding and the ladders began to collapse in the direction of the ambo, so that those painters and artists were thrown into confusion as they bewailed the danger that was upon them. As the men quite naturally were seized by lamentation . . . one of them sees the Mother of God standing on top of the ambo and supporting the ladders. Then little by little, she gave way to their weight so as not to allow them to collapse all of a sudden. . . .

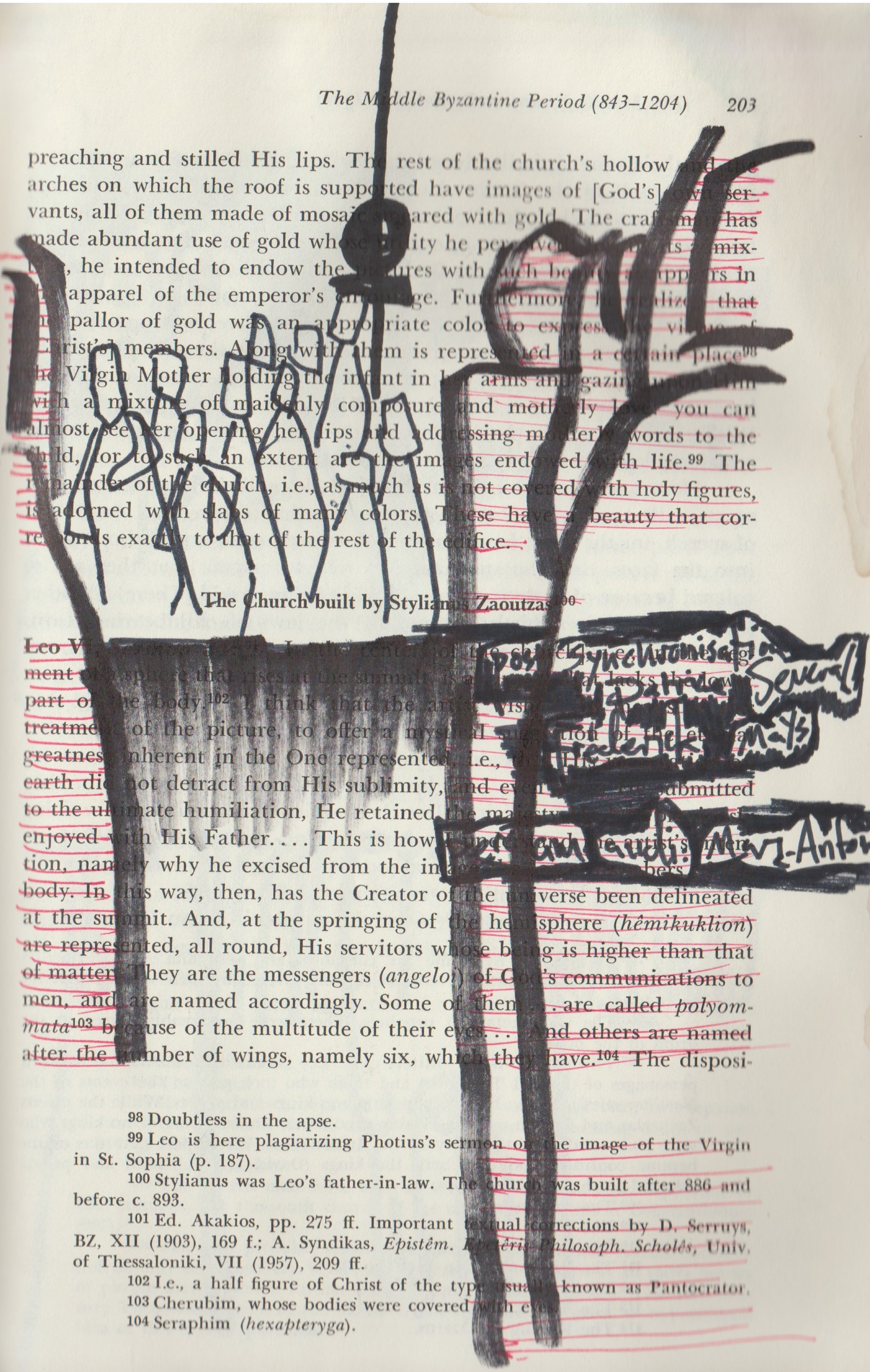
The following [incident], too, is not unlike the others.[93] The images of the All-pure one and of the archangel Gabriel—the ones that are set up to the right of the altar and constantly perform miracles—were, before the disaster, depicted high up in the right-hand arch. At that time they fell to the ground like all the rest, but they were not at all damaged, and are still to this very day seen to be intact. *There follows an anecdote about one Helena Artavasdina who removed these icons to her home and was then, by a supernatural agency, obliged to return them to the church.*

Leo VI (886–912)

The Church in the Monastery of Kauleas at Constantinople[94]

Leo VI, *Sermon 28*:[95] It [the church] is paved with white slabs [which form] a continuous translucent [surface], uninterrupted by any other color: the craftsman has preferred this pure splendor to a variegated composition such as is often to be seen in pavements. However, a boundary,[96] as it were, made of a stone of a different color, surrounds the white surface, and by slightly varying the spectacle, makes the white translucence, pleasing as it is, even more agreeable. . . . Now the [structure] which is above the beautiful pavement and forms the roof is raised in the shape of a half-sphere.[97] In the midst of it is represented an image of Him to whom the craftsman has dedicated the church. You might think you were beholding not a work of art, but the Overseer and Governor of the universe Himself who appeared in human form, as if He had just ceased

92 I.e., probably the pendentives.
93 I.e., it is as wonderful as the other miraculous incidents recorded in the text.
94 Founded or restored by the Patriarch Antony II Kauleas (893–901). See Janin, *Églises*, pp. 44 ff.
95 Ed. Akakios, pp. 245 f. On this and the following text see A. Frolow, "Deux églises byzantines," *Études byzantines*, III (1945), 43 ff.
96 I.e., a border of colored marble.
97 Literally "half-circle" (*hêmikuklion*), but this surely denotes the dome.



preaching and stilled His lips. Th[redacted] rest of the church's hollow [redacted] arches on which the roof is supp[redacted]ted have images of [God's] [redacted] ser- vants, all of them made of mosa[redacted]ared with gold. The craf[redacted] has made abundant use of gold wh[redacted]ity he pe[redacted]ts [redacted]mix- [redacted], he intended to endow the [redacted]res with [redacted] in [redacted]apparel of the emperor's [redacted]ge. Fu[redacted] that [redacted] pallor of gold wa[redacted] an appropriate colo[redacted] [redacted] Christ's] members. Along with them is repres[redacted] a certain place[98] the Virgin Mother holding the infant in [redacted] arms and gazin[redacted] with a mixture of maidenly composure and mothe[redacted] you can almost see her opening her lips and addressing motherly words to the child, for to such an extent are the images endowed with life.[99] The remainder of the church, i.e., as much as is not covered with holy figures, is adorned with slabs of many colors. These have a beauty that corresponds exactly to that of the rest of the edifice.

The Church built by Stylianus Zaoutzas[100]

Leo V[redacted] the c[redacted] seg- ment o[redacted] lacks the low[redacted] part of the body.[102] I think that the art[redacted] treatme[redacted] of the picture, to offer a myst[redacted] greatnes[redacted] inherent in the One represented, i.e., [redacted] earth di[redacted] not detract from His sublimity, and eve[redacted] submitted to the ul[redacted]mate humiliation, He retained [redacted] enjoyed [redacted] His Father. . . . This is how [redacted] tion, nam[redacted] why he excised from the in[redacted] body. In [redacted] way, then, has the Creator of [redacted] universe been delineated at the su[redacted]it. And, at the springing of [redacted] hemisphere (*hêmikuklion*) are represented, all round, His servitors whose being is higher than that of matter. They are the messengers (*angeloi*) of God's communications to men, and are named accordingly. Some of them . . . are called *polyommata*[103] because of the multitude of their eyes. . . . And others are named after the number of wings, namely six, which they have.[104] The disposi-

98 Doubtless in the apse.
99 Leo is here plagiarizing Photius's sermon on the image of the Virgin in St. Sophia (p. 187).
100 Stylianus was Leo's father-in-law. The church was built after 886 and before c. 893.
101 Ed. Akakios, pp. 275 ff. Important textual corrections by D. Serruys, BZ, XII (1903), 169 f.; A. Syndikas, *Epistêm. Epetêris Philosoph. Scholês*, Univ. of Thessaloniki, VII (1957), 209 ff.
102 I.e., a half figure of Christ of the type usually known as Pantocrator.
103 Cherubim, whose bodies were covered with eyes.
104 Seraphim (*hexapteryga*).

tion of their wings is indicative of the mysterious hiddenness and folding in upon itself of the Godhead . . . while the veiling of their faces and feet[105] teaches us that the Godhead is altogether incomprehensible and invisible. . . . Next to these [the artist] has placed another category of servitors who are agreeable to God; these, although beings of a material composition, have nevertheless surpassed the bounds of matter and attained to the immaterial life. Some of them foresaw from afar the events which at a later time would be enacted for the salvation of the world;[106] while others took part in these very events—here you may see kings and priests—so that the universal King receives universal homage.[107] With these images is the summit of the church decorated, while the remainder contains the events of the Incarnation.

Here a winged being who has just descended from heaven converses with a virgin.[108] You might say that this picture was not devoid of speech, for the artist has infused such natural color and feeling (*êthos*) into the faces, that the spectator is forced to assume that they are so colored because of their awareness of what is being said. There, a mother who has just given birth, yet not by the laws of childbearing, turns towards the infant with maternal care and love.[109] Now men are hastening with precious objects to do homage to the infant.[110] Now a man afflicted by old age receives the babe in his arms;[111] as you behold this, you may perceive a contest between age and the youthful ardor that seizes the old man through his joy: trying to forget the burden of his years he quickly stretches out his arms to pick up the babe, but they prove weaker than his desire. Here the stainless One, desirous of washing off our filth, is being cleansed with purifying water;[112] there His form shines forth as His mortal appearance is removed.[113] In this place the friend who had rotted in the grave throws off corruption and leaps to life at [the sound of] a word.[114] Over there, submitting to His ordeal on

105 In fact, in Byzantine art cherubim and seraphim (the distinction between them is seldom observed) are entirely covered by their wings *except* for their faces and feet.

106 The Old Testament prophets. These were presumably placed in the drum of the dome.

107 This passage is not entirely clear. Leo is drawing a distinction between personages of the Old Testament and those who took part in the events of the New (apostles?). In the latter group he places kings and priests. While the priests Zacharias and Simeon are conceivable candidates, we can think of no kings who were concerned with the story of the Incarnation. We suspect that the orator became confused, and that both the kings (David and Solomon) and priests referred to the Old Testament.

108 The Annunciation.

109 The Nativity.

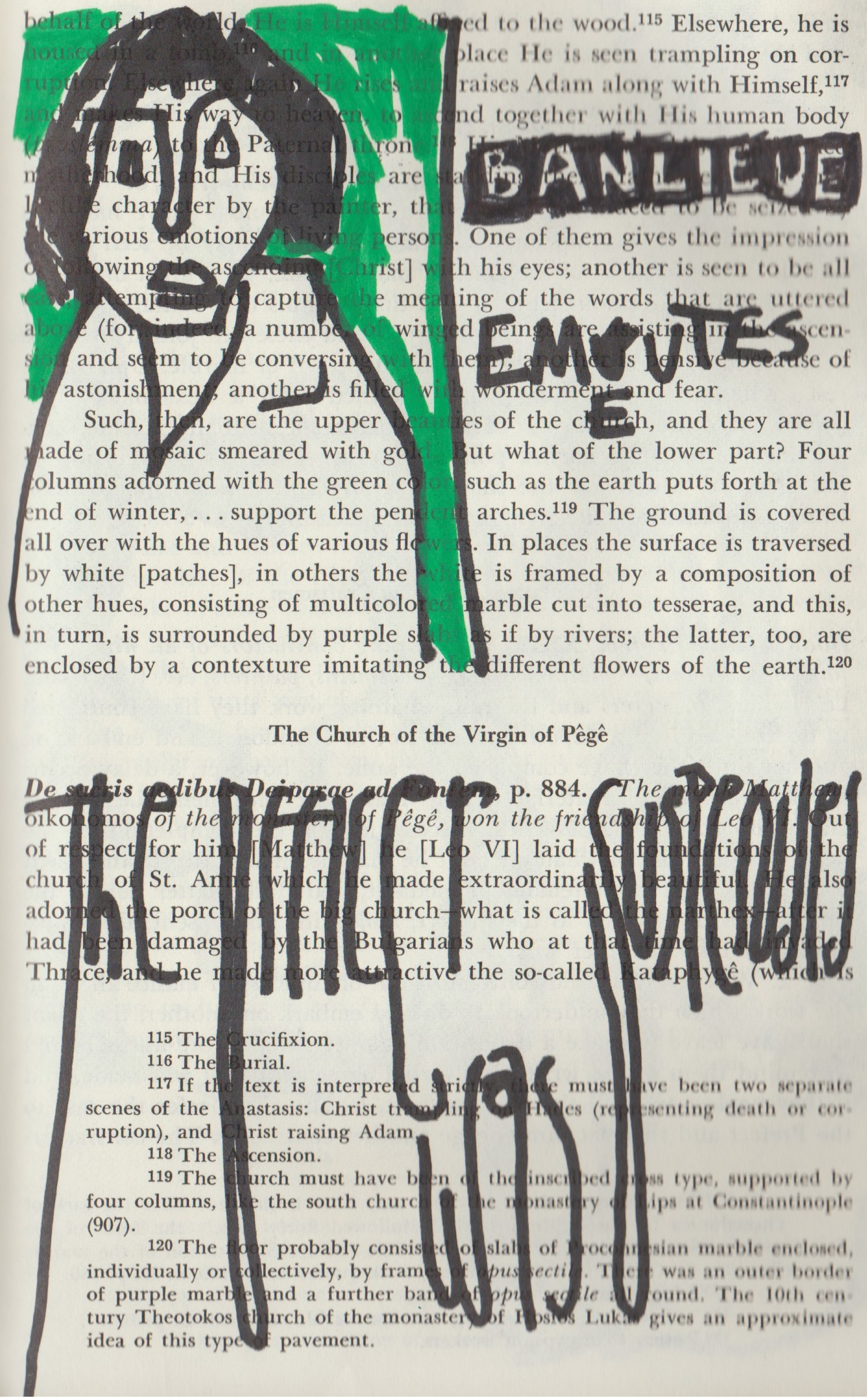
110 The Adoration of the Magi.

111 The Presentation in the Temple.

112 The Baptism.

113 The Transfiguration.

114 The Raising of Lazarus.



behalf of the world, He is Himself affixed to the wood.[115] Elsewhere, he is housed in a tomb,[116] and in another place He is seen trampling on corruption. Elsewhere again He rises and raises Adam along with Himself,[117] and makes His way to heaven, to ascend together with His human body (*proslêmma*) to the Paternal throne.[118] [illegible] motherhood, and His disciples are standing [illegible] lifelike character by the painter, that [illegible] to be seized [illegible] the various emotions of living persons. One of them gives the impression of following the ascending [Christ] with his eyes; another is seen to be all ear, attempting to capture the meaning of the words that are uttered above (for, indeed, a number of winged beings are assisting in the ascension and seem to be conversing with them); another is pensive because of his astonishment, another is filled with wonderment and fear.

Such, then, are the upper beauties of the church, and they are all made of mosaic smeared with gold. But what of the lower part? Four columns adorned with the green color such as the earth puts forth at the end of winter, . . . support the pendent arches.[119] The ground is covered all over with the hues of various flowers. In places the surface is traversed by white [patches], in others the white is framed by a composition of other hues, consisting of multicolored marble cut into tesserae, and this, in turn, is surrounded by purple slabs as if by rivers; the latter, too, are enclosed by a contexture imitating the different flowers of the earth.[120]

The Church of the Virgin of Pêgê

***De sacris aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem*, p. 884.** *The monk Matthew, oikonomos of the monastery of Pêgê, won the friendship of Leo VI.* Out of respect for him [Matthew] he [Leo VI] laid the foundations of the church of St. Anne which he made extraordinarily beautiful. He also adorned the porch of the big church—what is called the narthex—after it had been damaged by the Bulgarians who at that time had invaded Thrace, and he made more attractive the so-called Kataphygê (which is

115 The Crucifixion.

116 The Burial.

117 If the text is interpreted strictly, there must have been two separate scenes of the Anastasis: Christ trampling on Hades (representing death or corruption), and Christ raising Adam.

118 The Ascension.

119 The church must have been of the inscribed cross type, supported by four columns, like the south church of the monastery of Lips at Constantinople (907).

120 The floor probably consisted of slabs of Proconnesian marble enclosed, individually or collectively, by frames of *opus sectile*. There was an outer border of purple marble and a further band of *opus sectile* all round. The 10th century Theotokos church of the monastery of Hosios Lukas gives an approximate idea of this type of pavement.

indeed a refuge from every kind of affliction) by means of fine mosaics and the blending of paints.

The Ciborium of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica[121]

Nicetas, archbishop of Thessalonica, *Miracula S. Demetrii*, § 6:[122] Likewise the holy ciborium which contains the miraculous grave has been given suitable decoration and a suitable place: it may be seen in the middle of the left side of the church, small in size, yet a great ornament set within the enormous [church]. Of the columns that contain it, some have the exact color of rue (*pēganon*),[123] and these are joined to white columns so as to produce a hexagonal shape, all of marble. Upon them rest arches, also of shining stone, adorned with a hexagonal collar (*sphendonē*) and, by means of further slabs of brilliant marble, contracting the roof to a narrow point. These are joined at the very top by [an element] which has the shape of a lily and a stone sphere upon which is set the holy, life-giving cross, all gleaming.

Regulations governing Craftsmen

***Book of the Prefect*, XXII.** *Concerning contractors of all kinds, i.e., joiners, plasterers,[124] marbleworkers, locksmiths, painters, etc.* 1. Artisans, i.e., joiners, plasterers and the rest, whatever work they have contracted to do and received a deposit for, are not to abandon it and embark on another until they have completed the same. If, however, a delay occurs because of lack of material or the malice of the client, i.e., if the craftsman does not receive the necessaries for the completion of the task, then let him, of whatever craft he may be, give notice to the client by means of verbal statement or affidavit, and if the latter delays, the case should be referred to the Prefect, and, with his consent, the craftsman may take on other work.

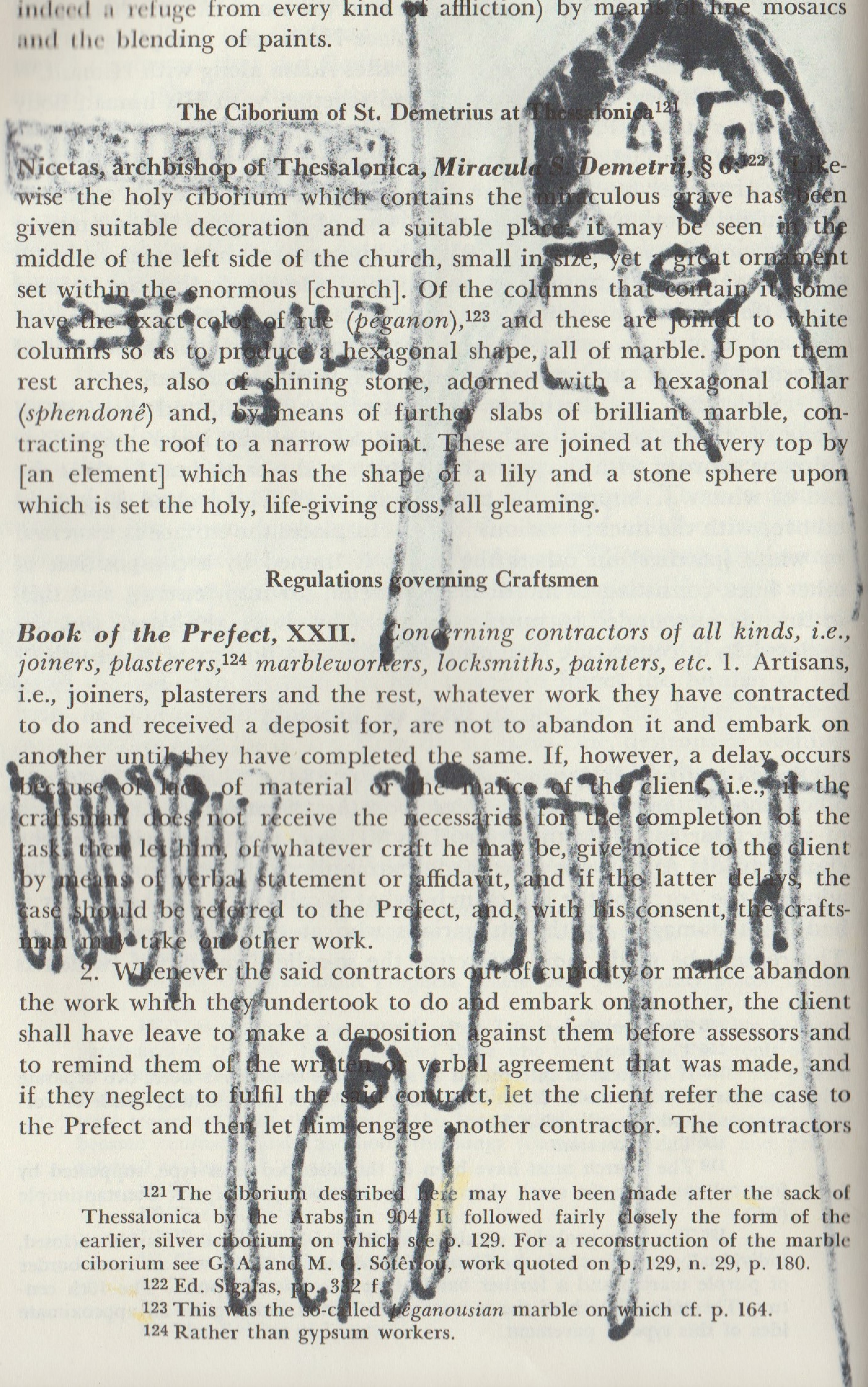
2. Whenever the said contractors out of cupidity or malice abandon the work which they undertook to do and embark on another, the client shall have leave to make a deposition against them before assessors and to remind them of the written or verbal agreement that was made, and if they neglect to fulfil the said contract, let the client refer the case to the Prefect and then let him engage another contractor. The contractors

121 The ciborium described here may have been made after the sack of Thessalonica by the Arabs in 904. It followed fairly closely the form of the earlier, silver ciborium, on which see p. 129. For a reconstruction of the marble ciborium see G. A. and M. G. Sôtêriou, work quoted on p. 129, n. 29, p. 180.

122 Ed. Sigalas, pp. 312 f.

123 This was the so-called *peganousian* marble on which cf. p. 164.

124 Rather than gypsum workers.



[illegible] the sacred ob[illegible] hangings[130] [illegible] propitiatorium [illegible] the great and [illegible] one,[131] Each time he came, he wished not [illegible] empty [illegible]d in the sight of God, and so repaid his debt by [illegible] offerings of [illegible] wrought in gold, of pearls, precious stones and cloths. These [illegible] the holy of holies and proclaim [the name of] Constantine who [illegible]red them. . .

33. It is also fitting that we should speak of the Chrysotriklinos [illegible] the ingenious Emperor turned into a blooming [illegible] sweet-smelling [illegible] garden by means of minute, variegated mosaic [illegible] imitating the [illegible] of freshly opened flowers. [illegible] spiral convolutions and [illegible] by the composition itself [illegible] inimitable.[132] [illegible] girded [the hall] with silver [illegible] border [illegible][133] and so offered the spe[illegible]

[illegible] *This passa*[illegible] *VII in 949 and* [illegible] *palace.*

[illegible] There is at Constantinople, next to the pal[illegible] a building of extraordinary size and beauty which the Greeks call Magnaura ([illegible] letter *V* [illegible] the place of the digamma), i.e., "strong breeze" (*magna aura*).[134] [illegible] sake of some Spanish envoys who had recently arrived, as well as [illegible]self and Liutefred,[135] Constantine gave orders that this building [illegible] be decked out in the following manner. In front of the Emperor's throne was set up a tree of gilded bronze, its branches filled with birds, likewise made of bronze gilded over, and these emitted cries appropriate to their different species. Now the Emperor's throne was made in such a cunning manner that at one moment it was down on the ground, while at another it rose higher and was seen to be [illegible]. This throne was of immense size and was, as it were, guarded by [illegible] made either of bronze or wood covered with gold, which struck the ground with their tails and roared with open mouth and quivering tongue. Leaning on the shoulders of two eunuchs I was brought into the Emperor's presence. [illegible] I came up, the lions began to [illegible] and the birds to twitter, each according to its kind, but I was moved neither by fear nor astonishment. After I had done obeisance to the Emperor by prostrating myself three times, I lifted up my head, and behold! the man whom I had just

130 The author uses the term *peplos* which may refer to any kind of cloth, veil or garment.

131 I.e., St. Sophia.

132 Text unclear and grammatically incorrect.

133 Probably referring to a cornice or entablature sheathed in silver that went round the interior of the buildi[illegible]

134 On the Magnaura, a building of basilical shape, see Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople*, pp. 68 ff.; [illegible] *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 57 f., where it is suggested that [illegible] have been the same as the Senate House, on which see above p. 108.

135 Envoy of Otto, King of Saxony.

seen sitting at a moderate height from the ground had now changed his vestments and was sitting as high as the ceiling of the hall. I could not think how this was done, unless perhaps he was lifted up by some such machine as is used for raising the timbers of a wine-press. . . .

8. Next to the Hippodrome, in a northerly direction,[136] is a hall of remarkable height and beauty called Decanneacubita. It obtained this name not from its nature (*ab re*),[137] but for an apparent reason: for "deca" is Greek for "ten," "ennea" is "nine," and "cubita" means couches that are flat for lying down on, and have curved ends. This is so because on the day when Christ was born according to the flesh nineteen tables are set up there. The Emperor and his guests do not sit up at dinner, as they do on other days, but recline, and on this occasion they are served not in silver vessels, but only in gold ones. After dinner fruit is brought in three golden vessels which are so immensely heavy that they are carried not by hand, but on trolleys covered with purple cloth. Two of them are put on the table in the following manner. Three ropes covered with gilded leather and provided with golden rings are let down through apertures in the ceiling and are inserted into the handles that project from the platters. With the help of four or more men stationed below, these are swung on to the table by means of a rotating device that is above the ceiling, and are then removed in the same manner.

Icons and Iconography

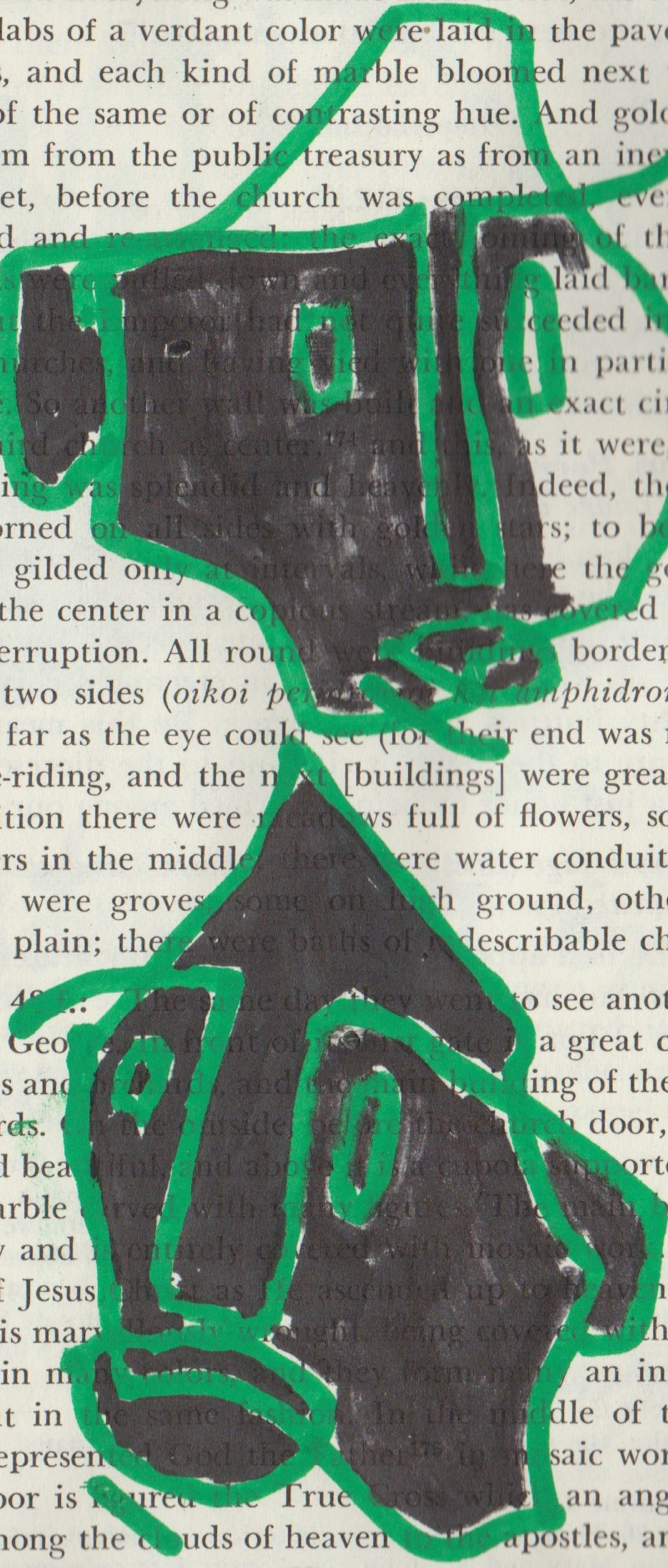
***Vita S. Theodorae Thessal.* § 52 ff:**[138] 52. . . . Inasmuch as the Lord had seen fit, through these miracles,[139] that she [Theodora] should be praised and glorified by everyone, it became appropriate for her image, too, to be set up in holy fashion within the sacred precincts [of the monastery]. . . . A certain painter John, who had never seen St. Theodora in the flesh and had never entered the holy monastery wherein she dwelled, had the following dream. He saw himself lying in the narthex of the church of her monastery, and in the middle of the right-hand aisle (*stoa*) of this church (which is a chapel of the holy Theotokos), at the spot where the Saint's sacred tomb is placed, [he saw] a hanging lamp gushing oil. Below this was an earthenware vessel to receive the oil that was dripping down from the lamp.[140]

136 The Hall of the Nineteen Couches was actually south of the Hippodrome.
137 The meaning of this distinction is not entirely clear to me.
138 Ed. Arsenij, pp. 31 f.
139 Various posthumous miracles of St. Theodora are related in the preceding paragraphs.
140 A few days after Theodora's death the lamp that was hanging over her tomb was found to be miraculously overflowing with oil and never had to be refilled.

dug deeper into the ground,[172] and upon them were set bigger and more varied columns. Everything was made more artful, the ceiling was covered with gold, slabs of a verdant color were laid in the pavement and affixed to the walls, and each kind of marble bloomed next to another which was either of the same or of contrasting hue. And gold flowed in a torrential stream from the public treasury as from an inexhaustible source.

186. Yet, before the church was [illegible] everything was once more altered and [illegible] of the stones was disrupted, walls [illegible] laid bare. The reason for this was that [illegible] his contest with the other churches [illegible] in particular,[173] had won second prize. [illegible] exact circle was described using the third [illegible] as it were, with greater art, and everything [illegible] Indeed, the church was like the sky adorned [illegible] to be more exact, the heavens are gilded only [illegible] the gold, flowing, as it were, from the center in a [illegible]ed the entire surface without interruption. All round [illegible] bordered with porticoes on four or two sides (*oikoi pe*[illegible]*amphidromoi*) and all [the grounds] as far as the eye could see (for their end was not in sight) were fit for horse-riding, and the n[illegible] [buildings] were greater than the first; and in addition there were [illegible]ws full of flowers, some extending all round, others in the middle; [illegible] ere water conduits that filled fountains; there were groves, [illegible] h ground, others sloping down towards the plain; there were baths of indescribable charm.

Clavijo, pp. 4[illegible] o see another church which is called St. Geo[illegible] a great court in which are many houses and [illegible]ing of the church is beyond these orchards. [illegible] door, is a bathing font, very big and bea[illegible] orted on eight pillars of white marble [illegible] body of the church is very lofty and [illegible]. There is a representation of Jesus [illegible]. And the floor of the church is mar[illegible] th slabs of porphyry and jasper in m[illegible] an interlace. The walls are wrought in [illegible] dle of the ceiling of this church is represen[illegible] saic work. And above the entrance door is [illegible] True [illegible] an angel points to [as it appears] among the clouds of heaven [illegible] apostles, and the Holy Ghost



172 The vast substructures of the monastery have survived: Demangel and Mamboury, pl. III.
173 Presumably St. Sophia.
174 Meaning unclear to me.
175 I.e., Christ Pantocrator.

descends upon them in the form of flames.[176] All this is done in marvellously wrought mosaic. In this church was a great tomb of jasper covered with a pall of silk, and here lies buried an empress.[177]

Imperial Images

Christophoros Mitylenaios, *Poem* 112.[178] *On the painter Myron painting the image of Michael:*[179] If you are painting only Michael's appearance, then mix your ochre and grind the other colors, but if, together with his appearance [you include] all his virtues, set him up alive, if you can do so; for you cannot paint him without his virtues, him who is an animate catalog (*puxion*) of virtues.

Joannes Mavropous, *Poems* 57, 75, 80, 87.
On the Emperor's image at Euchaita:[180]

A pious deed does here portray the mighty lord Constantine,[181] the great Monomachus, the wonder of the earth. Seeing that the gifts of the emperors before him have been, through spite, severely undermined, he has propped them up with a golden pillar in erecting a chrysobull ordinance like a mighty buttress against violence. By this means he offers a more secure future to the Martyr's city and to the diocese, and so he receives in return a just honor by being inscribed among our benefactors.

On the supplicatory image (deêsis) *of the Emperor lying at Christ's feet. The Emperor is speaking:*

It is Thou who hast appointed me lord of Thy creatures and master of my fellow-slaves, but having proved to be the slave of sin, I tremble before thy scourge, O Lord and Judge.[182]

176 This was clearly a picture of the Pentecost, and the True Cross must have belonged to the central medallion containing the Etimasia. The presence of an angel is, however, abnormal in this composition. Furthermore the Pentecost was usually represented in the area of the *bêma* rather than above the entrance.

177 In the church were buried Constantine IX and his mistress Sklêraina. After 1204 the latter's tomb was reused for Count Hugues de Saint-Pol. The memory of Sklêraina must have remained alive, however, until 1403.

178 Ed. Kurtz, p. 75.

179 Probably the Emperor Michael IV (1034–41).

180 Euchaita, the cult center of St. Theodore, was situated near Amaseia in the Pontus.

181 Constantine IX.

182 Poems 76–79, which are purely rhetorical in content, refer to the same image: the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist intercede on the Emperor's behalf, Christ accepts their petition, and then the Emperor utters a further prayer. The picture consisted, therefore, of Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, with the Emperor prostrate at Christ's feet. The mosaic above the Imperial Door of St. Sophia provides an obvious analogy.

On the image at Sosthenion:

Thy mighty hand, O Christ, has crowned the [illegible] emperors and given them their kingdom; Thy goodness has made [illegible] inexhaustible font[183] of rich gifts. The entire earth is bounteously [illegible] these gifts and gives glory to Thee, the giver of kingdom [illegible] the [illegible] of kingdom, to be ever present, to fig[illegible] the [illegible], to grant them long life and joy. [illegible] image has been painted for the monks of th[illegible] monastery of the First Angel at Sosthenion,[184] having been [illegible] gifts give this reward to their kindly benefact[illegible] depicting Thee, O Christ, in the act of crowning them here.

[illegible] of the Emperor and the Patriarch:

Those who have been selected as our masters by God's [illegible] should also be honored in painting, for the one rule[illegible] men's bodies, while the other has been chosen shepherd of [men's] souls. Both [illegible] their authority from above and both rule their subjects well; hence [illegible] also represent[illegible] originators and protectors of [illegible] powers.[185]

Byzantine Artists [illegible] Kiev

Russian Primary *Chronicle*, sub anno 6497: Thereafter Vladimir lived in the Christian faith and he bethought himself of building a church of the most holy Mother of God,[186] and so he sent emissaries and brought masters from Greece.[187] So he began building it, and when he had finished, he adorned it with images and entrusted it to Anastasius of Cherson. He appointed priests from Cherson to officiate in it and bestowed upon it everything he had taken at Cherson, namely icons, vessels and crosses.

Bráðum verð ég frægur listamaður.

***Paterikon of the Cave Monastery, Kiev,* ch. 4:**[188] Here is another wonderful miracle which I am going to tell you. There came to the abbot Nikon icon-painters from that same God-guarded city of [illegible], and they said to him: "Set before us the men who negotiated with us: we wish to bring suit against them. [illegible] us a small church,

Vonandi áður en ég dey

183 Literally "sea."

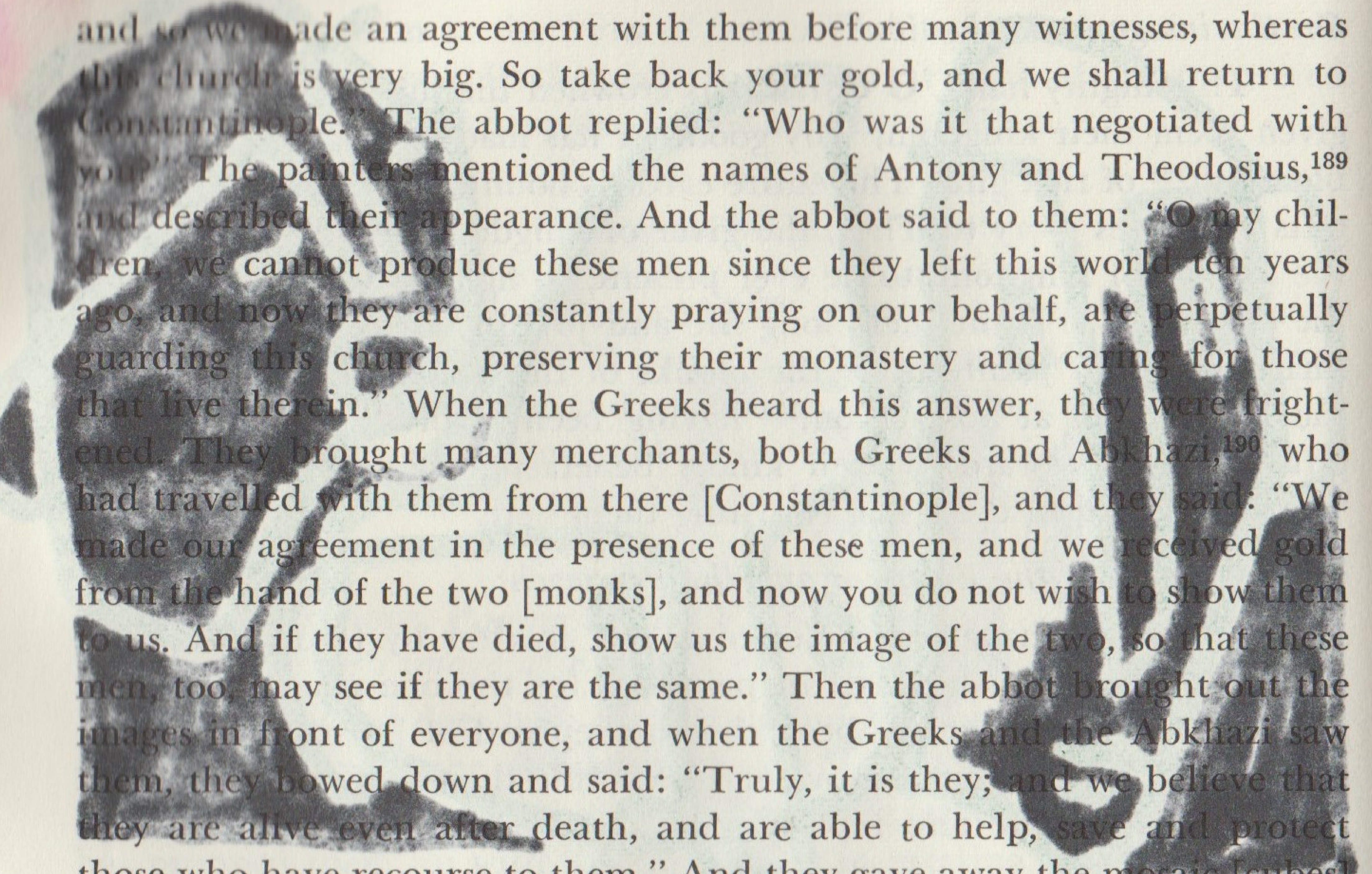
184 The same as St. Michael's at Anaplous on the Bosphorus, on which see p. 115.

185 I.e., Christ and, probably, some other heavenly patrons were portrayed in the upper part of the image.

186 The so-called Tithe Church (Desjatinnaja Cerkov'), destroyed in 1240. Its foundations have been excavated.

187 I.e., from the Byzantine Empire.

188 Ed. Abramovič–Tschižewskij, pp. 9 ff.



and so we made an agreement with them before many witnesses, whereas this church is very big. So take back your gold, and we shall return to Constantinople." The abbot replied: "Who was it that negotiated with you?" The painters mentioned the names of Antony and Theodosius,[189] and described their appearance. And the abbot said to them: "O my children, we cannot produce these men since they left this world ten years ago, and now they are constantly praying on our behalf, are perpetually guarding this church, preserving their monastery and caring for those that live therein." When the Greeks heard this answer, they were frightened. They brought many merchants, both Greeks and Abkhazi,[190] who had travelled with them from there [Constantinople], and they said: "We made our agreement in the presence of these men, and we received gold from the hand of the two [monks], and now you do not wish to show them to us. And if they have died, show us the image of the two, so that these men, too, may see if they are the same." Then the abbot brought out the images in front of everyone, and when the Greeks and the Abkhazi saw them, they bowed down and said: "Truly, it is they; and we believe that they are alive even after death, and are able to help, save and protect those who have recourse to them." And they gave away the mosaic [cubes] which they had brought for sale, and it is with them that the holy chancel is now adorned.

The Greeks go on to relate that they were brought to Kiev by supernatural force, and that, in spite of their resistance, their boat travelled with unusual speed up the Dnieper to the very monastery. Then, all together, the monks and the Greeks, craftsmen (*masteri*) and painters, gave glory to the great God, to His immaculate Mother, to her miraculous icon, and to the holy Fathers Antony and Theodosius. And so both the builders and the painters ended their lives in the Monastery of the Caves having taken the monastic habit, and they are buried in a special chapel (*pritvor*). And their cloaks (*svity*)[191] and Greek books are to this day preserved in the sacristy (*polaty*) in remembrance of so great a miracle.

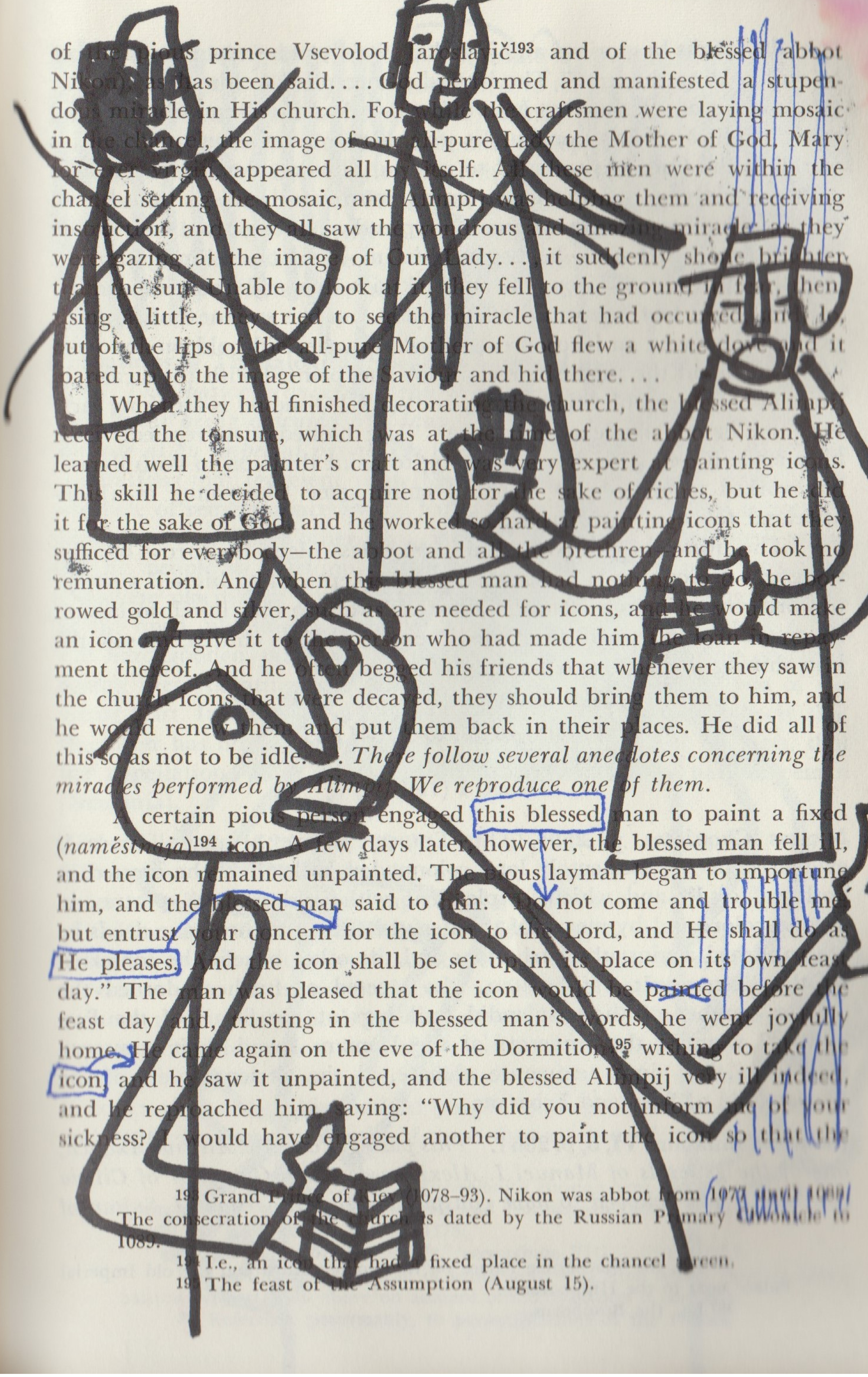
Paterikon of the Cave Monastery, Kiev, ch. 34:[192] The blessed Alimpij was given by his parents to study icon-painting. When the Greek painters were forcibly brought from Constantinople by the will of God and of His all-pure Mother to paint the church of the Caves (in the days

189 Founders of the Cave Monastery (shortly after 1051).

190 *Obezi* in the text. These were a Georgian people, called Abasgians by ancient authors, who dwelled on the west coast of the Caucasus.

191 Some commentators have translated this term as "scrolls" and have understood it to refer to model books; *svita,* however, means regularly a garment.

192 Ed. Abramovič–Tschiževskij, pp. 172 ff.



of the pious prince Vsevolod Jaroslavič[193] and of the blessed abbot Nikon), as has been said. . . . God performed and manifested a stupendous miracle in His church. For while the craftsmen were laying mosaic in the chancel, the image of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God, Mary for ever virgin, appeared all by itself. All these men were within the chancel setting the mosaic, and Alimpij was helping them and receiving instruction, and they all saw the wondrous and amazing miracle: as they were gazing at the image of Our Lady. . . , it suddenly shone brighter than the sun. Unable to look at it, they fell to the ground in fear, then, rising a little, they tried to see the miracle that had occurred, and lo, out of the lips of the all-pure Mother of God flew a white dove and it soared up to the image of the Saviour and hid there. . . .

When they had finished decorating the church, the blessed Alimpij received the tonsure, which was at the time of the abbot Nikon. He learned well the painter's craft and was very expert at painting icons. This skill he decided to acquire not for the sake of riches, but he did it for the sake of God and he worked so hard at painting icons that they sufficed for everybody—the abbot and all the brethren—and he took no remuneration. And when this blessed man had nothing to do, he borrowed gold and silver, such as are needed for icons, and he would make an icon and give it to the person who had made him the loan in repayment thereof. And he often begged his friends that whenever they saw in the church icons that were decayed, they should bring them to him, and he would renew them and put them back in their places. He did all of this so as not to be idle. . . . *There follow several anecdotes concerning the miracles performed by Alimpij. We reproduce one of them.*

A certain pious person engaged this blessed man to paint a fixed (*naměstnaja*)[194] icon. A few days later, however, the blessed man fell ill, and the icon remained unpainted. The pious layman began to importune him, and the blessed man said to him: "Do not come and trouble me, but entrust your concern for the icon to the Lord, and He shall do as He pleases. And the icon shall be set up in its place on its own feast day." The man was pleased that the icon would be painted before the feast day and, trusting in the blessed man's words, he went joyfully home. He came again on the eve of the Dormition[195] wishing to take the icon, and he saw it unpainted, and the blessed Alimpij very ill indeed, and he reproached him, saying: "Why did you not inform me of your sickness? I would have engaged another to paint the icon so that the

193 Grand Prince of Kiev (1078–93). Nikon was abbot from 1077 until 1088. The consecration of the church is dated by the Russian Primary Chronicle to 1089.

194 I.e., an icon that had a fixed place in the chancel screen.

195 The feast of the Assumption (August 15).

feast day might be glorious and joyful. As it is, you have put me to shame by withholding the icon." The blessed man replied to him meekly: "My son, is it out of idleness that I have done so? And is it impossible for God to paint His Mother's icon by His word alone? I am about to leave this world, as the Lord has revealed to me, but after my departure God will fully console you." So the man returned sorrowfully to his house. And after his departure there entered a resplendent young man and, taking up the brush (*vapnica*), he began painting the icon. Alimpij thought that the owner of the icon was angered with him and had sent another painter, for at first he seemed to be a man, but the swiftness of his work proved him to be an incorporeal being. Now he laid gold on the icon, now he ground the pigments on a stone and painted with them; and in three hours he completed the icon, and said: "O monk, is anything lacking and have I made any mistake?" The blessed man replied: "You have made it well. God has helped you to paint this icon so skilfully and has worked through you." When evening came [the young man] disappeared together with the icon.

The owner of the icon spent a sleepless night in sorrow because there was no icon for the feast day, and he kept calling himself a sinner unworthy of such grace. And he arose and went to the church to lament his trespasses, and when he opened the doors of the church, he saw the icon shining in its proper place. . . .

The Comneni (1081–1185)

Manuel I (1143–80)

Nicetas Choniates, p. 269: This Emperor's love of magnificence is evidenced by the immensely long colonnaded halls which he erected in both palaces,[196] and which, resplendent with gold mosaics, portray in diverse colors and by means of wonderful handicraft the brave deeds he accomplished against the barbarians and the other benefits he conferred on the Romans. It was he, too, who erected or further adorned the greater number of those splendid buildings at the Strait of the Propontis[197] wherein the emperors of the Romans spend their summers, seeking as they do a temperate climate, as the ancient rulers of the Persians did at Susa and Ecbatana.

Joannes Cinnamus, VI, 6, p. 266 f. *This passage concerns Alexius Axouch, one of the generals of Manuel I. Alexius was made Governor of Cilicia (1165) and was believed to have conspired with Kilic-Aslan II, Sultan of*

196 I.e., the Blachernae Palace on the Golden Horn and the old Imperial Palace next to the Hippodrome.

197 I.e., the Bosphorus.

[redacted]

Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Speech addressed to the Emperor Manuel I.*[198] *This passage concerns Stephen Nemanja, Grand Župan of Rascia who, after being defeated by Manuel in 1172, was brought to Constantinople as an imperial vassal.* He [Nemanja] surveys with his eyes those decorations that represent your [Manuel's] feats, cunningly wrought for the sake of remembrance by the hands of painters, those that concerned himself as well as the other [paintings]. Here [he was represented] arousing his people to rebellion, [illegible] or a horseman, elsewhere placing his hand [illegible] ranging his army in the open, planting ambuscades [illegible] your forces, filling the hard-trodden plain [illegible] being enslaved. Seeing these paintings [illegible] approves of the visual feast. In one [illegible] namely that the latter has not [illegible] of triumph, that the appellation [illegible] name Neeman [Nemanja].

***Cod. Marc. Gr. 524, fol. 22ᵛ.*[199]** On the newly built house of Leo Sikountenos at Thessalonica that contains various pictures from olden times as well as that of the Emperor, the Lord Manuel Comnenus:

Wondrous is the foundation of this house, O stranger, in that its lower part receives support from above, for it is upheld by the symbols of virtue that are represented both inside and out.[200] The artist has painted these virtues both by themselves[201] and in various forms that express them in action, namely by delineating venerable men who excelled in virtue: Moses, the witness of God, striving out of true love to toil together with his kindred people, bravely slaying the Egyptians and gently feeding the mouths of those that murmured; and the military

198 Ed. T. L. F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro* (Berlin, [illegible]); German trans. by Tafel, *Komnenen und Normannen* (Ulm, [illegible]), p. [illegible]. The speech was composed in 1174 or 1175.

199 Ed. [illegible]pros, *Neos Hellênomnêmôn* VIII/1 (1911), [illegible].

200 I.e., this house, instead of being supported from below, receives [illegible] natural support from above on account of the paintings it contains.

201 Referring, presumably, to personifications of the virtues.

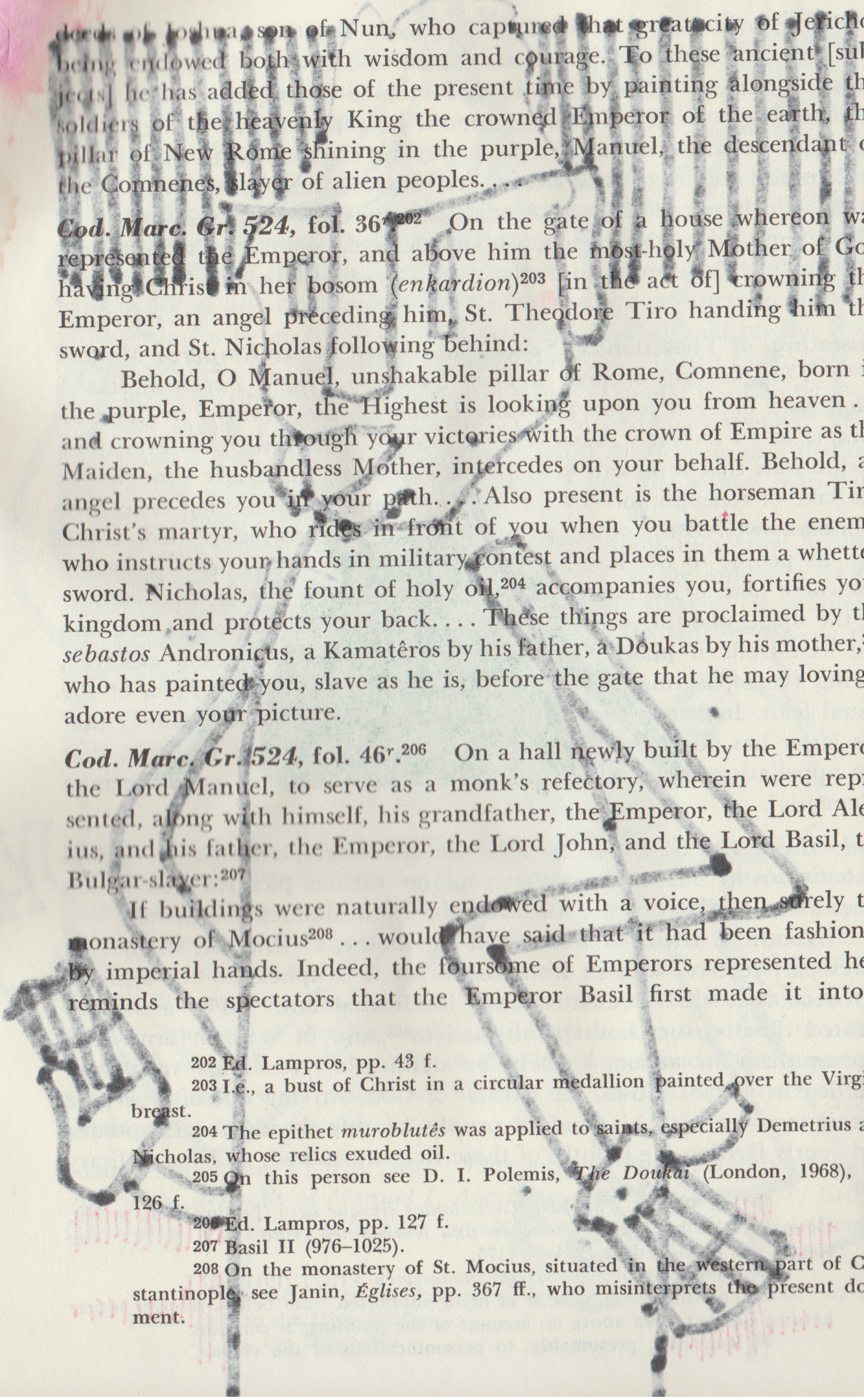
deeds of Joshua, son of Nun, who captured that great city of Jericho, being endowed both with wisdom and courage. To these ancient [subjects] he has added those of the present time by painting alongside the soldiers of the heavenly King the crowned Emperor of the earth, the pillar of New Rome shining in the purple, Manuel, the descendant of the Comnenes, slayer of alien peoples. . . .

Cod. Marc. Gr. 524, fol. 36r.[202] On the gate of a house whereon was represented the Emperor, and above him the most-holy Mother of God having Christ in her bosom (*enkardion*)[203] [in the act of] crowning the Emperor, an angel preceding him, St. Theodore Tiro handing him the sword, and St. Nicholas following behind:

Behold, O Manuel, unshakable pillar of Rome, Comnene, born in the purple, Emperor, the Highest is looking upon you from heaven . . . and crowning you through your victories with the crown of Empire as the Maiden, the husbandless Mother, intercedes on your behalf. Behold, an angel precedes you in your path. . . . Also present is the horseman Tiro, Christ's martyr, who rides in front of you when you battle the enemy, who instructs your hands in military contest and places in them a whetted sword. Nicholas, the fount of holy oil,[204] accompanies you, fortifies your kingdom and protects your back. . . . These things are proclaimed by the *sebastos* Andronicus, a Kamatêros by his father, a Doukas by his mother,[205] who has painted you, slave as he is, before the gate that he may lovingly adore even your picture.

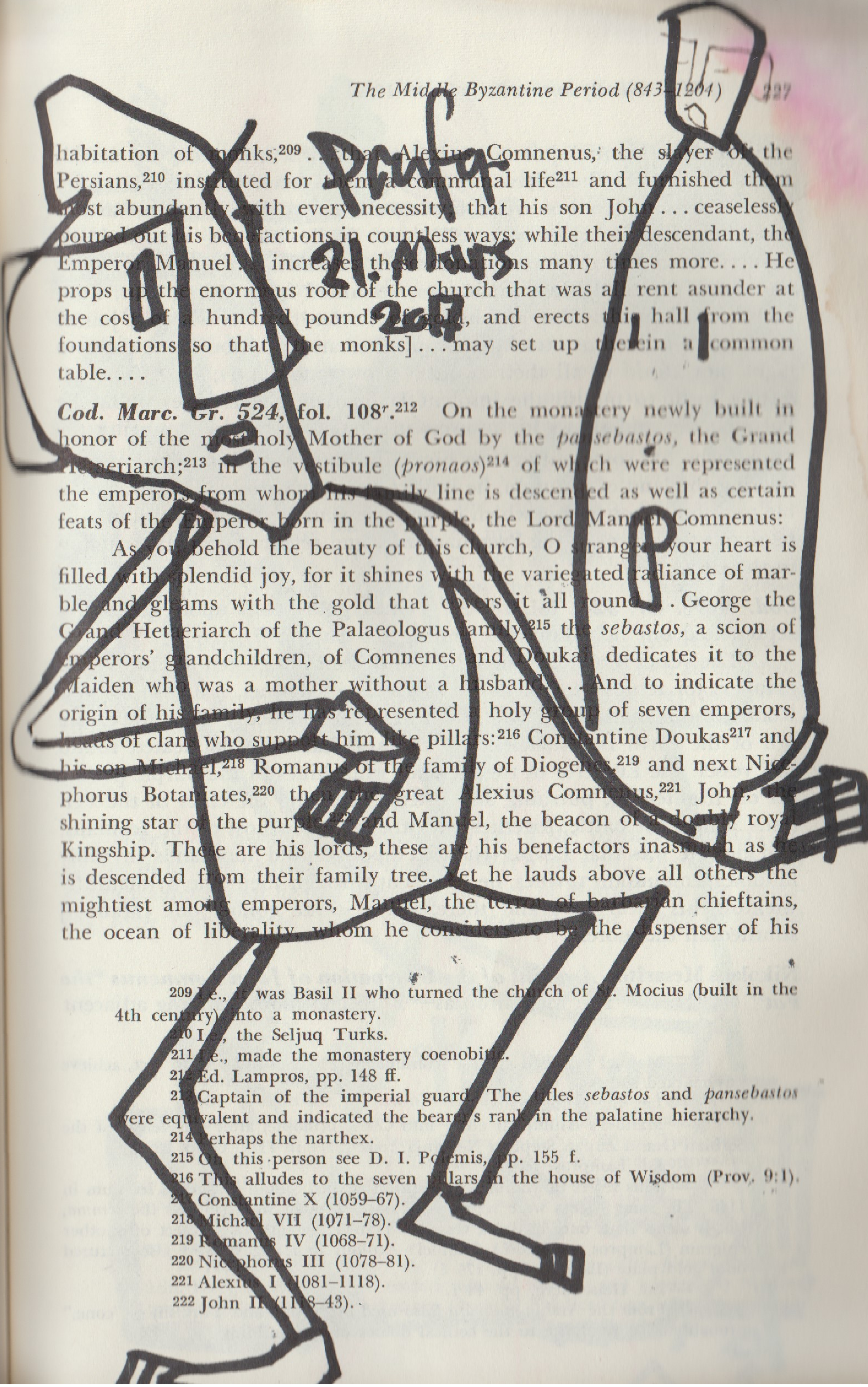
Cod. Marc. Gr. 524, fol. 46r.[206] On a hall newly built by the Emperor, the Lord Manuel, to serve as a monk's refectory, wherein were represented, along with himself, his grandfather, the Emperor, the Lord Alexius, and his father, the Emperor, the Lord John, and the Lord Basil, the Bulgar-slayer:[207]

If buildings were naturally endowed with a voice, then surely the monastery of Mocius[208] . . . would have said that it had been fashioned by imperial hands. Indeed, the foursome of Emperors represented here reminds the spectators that the Emperor Basil first made it into a



202 Ed. Lampros, pp. 43 f.
203 I.e., a bust of Christ in a circular medallion painted over the Virgin's breast.
204 The epithet *muroblutês* was applied to saints, especially Demetrius and Nicholas, whose relics exuded oil.
205 On this person see D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), pp. 126 f.
206 Ed. Lampros, pp. 127 f.
207 Basil II (976–1025).
208 On the monastery of St. Mocius, situated in the western part of Constantinople, see Janin, *Églises*, pp. 367 ff., who misinterprets the present document.

habitation of monks,[209] . . . that Alexius Comnenus, the slayer of the Persians,[210] instituted for them a communal life[211] and furnished them most abundantly with every necessity, that his son John . . . ceaselessly poured out his benefactions in countless ways; while their descendant, the Emperor Manuel . . . increased these donations many times more. . . . He props up the enormous roof of the church that was all rent asunder at the cost of a hundred pounds of gold, and erects this hall from the foundations so that [the monks] . . . may set up therein a common table. . . .



Cod. Marc. Gr. 524, fol. 108r.[212] On the monastery newly built in honor of the most-holy Mother of God by the *pansebastos*, the Grand Hetaeriarch;[213] in the vestibule (*pronaos*)[214] of which were represented the emperors from whom his family line is descended as well as certain feats of the Emperor born in the purple, the Lord Manuel Comnenus:

As you behold the beauty of this church, O stranger, your heart is filled with splendid joy, for it shines with the variegated radiance of marble and gleams with the gold that covers it all round. . . . George the Grand Hetaeriarch of the Palaeologus family,[215] the *sebastos*, a scion of emperors' grandchildren, of Comnenes and Doukai, dedicates it to the Maiden who was a mother without a husband. . . . And to indicate the origin of his family, he has represented a holy group of seven emperors, heads of clans who support him like pillars:[216] Constantine Doukas[217] and his son Michael,[218] Romanus of the family of Diogenes,[219] and next Nicephorus Botaniates,[220] then the great Alexius Comnenus,[221] John,[222] the shining star of the purple, and Manuel, the beacon of a doubly royal Kingship. These are his lords, these are his benefactors inasmuch as he is descended from their family tree. Yet he lauds above all others the mightiest among emperors, Manuel, the terror of barbarian chieftains, the ocean of liberality, whom he considers to be the dispenser of his

209 I.e., it was Basil II who turned the church of St. Mocius (built in the 4th century) into a monastery.
210 I.e., the Seljuq Turks.
211 I.e., made the monastery coenobitic.
212 Ed. Lampros, pp. 148 ff.
213 Captain of the imperial guard. The titles *sebastos* and *pansebastos* were equivalent and indicated the bearer's rank in the palatine hierarchy.
214 Perhaps the narthex.
215 On this person see D. I. Polemis, pp. 155 f.
216 This alludes to the seven pillars in the house of Wisdom (Prov. 9:1).
217 Constantine X (1059–67).
218 Michael VII (1071–78).
219 Romanus IV (1068–71).
220 Nicephorus III (1078–81).
221 Alexius I (1081–1118).
222 John II (1118–43).

very life. His [Manuel's] countless feats are known throughout the earth's orb, and a few of them have been represented here: how he set on fire the environs of Iconium after forcing the entire Persian army to flee together with the chief satrap;[223] how, while hunting unarmed, he chanced upon armed Saracens . . . and was wounded in the heel, yet turning round captured his assailant, but refrained from killing him; how, with a small army of Romans, he took countless captives when he joined battle with numerous attacking Ishmaelites and all alone, put them to flight, not afraid of all their swords, arrows and spears; next, how, on setting forth to punish the insolent Dalmatians, he charges upon the Paeonians,[224] and shows his prowess in single combat by capturing the Župan who has come out against him with bared sword; how before conquering the land of Sirmium, he inflicts in an incredible manner a suitable punishment on Serbia which he enslaves; finally, taking Sirmium, too, he shares the power of the Paeonian ruler and celebrates a great triumph in the City. . . .[225]

***Cod. Marc. Gr. 524*, fol. 180r.**[226] On a gold vessel upon which was represented our holy Emperor routing the Sultan:[227]

The vessel is of gold whose brilliance seems to glisten in an unusual manner: for represented on it are the feats of Manuel, Emperor of New Rome, who is himself like gold, both in mind and body. What the entire orb of the earth is insufficient [to contain] has been delineated round this vessel: the Emperor of the Romans who shines in the purple [in the act of] frightening, pursuing and utterly defeating the chief of the Persians, armed for battle, together with the countless host of the Iconians; and how it was that having chanced upon untold thousands invisibly hidden in mountain ravines, he alone cut through their line by manfully wielding his spear here and there. Thus is the golden one [Manuel] adorned all the more.

Nikolaos Mesarites, *Account of the Usurpation of John Comnenus* "the Fat" (1201):[228] The Mouchroutas[229] is an enormous building adjacent

223 Manuel marched against Iconium in 1146, but did not, in fact, achieve any marked success.

224 I.e., the Hungarians.

225 Manuel's triumphal entry into Constantinople, after the defeat of the Serbian Grand Župan Stephen Nemanja, took place in 1172. Cf. p. 225.

226 Ed. Lampros, p. 172.

227 This refers to Manuel's expedition against Sultan Masud of Iconium in 1146. The same events were represented on a "golden veil" (so says the *lêmma*, but it seems that, once again, a vessel or plate is meant), the subject of another epigram (Lampros, pp. 176 f.). Manuel's exploits in Hungary were also pictured on a gold plate (Lampros, pp. 175 f.).

228 Ed. Heisenberg, pp. 44 f.

229 From the Arabic *mahrûta* (also used in Persian and Turkish) = "cone," probably with reference to the conical domes of the building.

to the Chrysotriklinos,[230] lying as it does on the west s[illegible] The steps leading up to it are made of baked brick, lime [illegible] staircase, which is serrated on either side and turns [illegible] colored blue, deep red, green and purple by means of [illegible] painted tiles of [illegible] This building is the work [illegible] Roman, nor a Sicilian, nor a Celt-Iberian, n[illegible] nor a Cilician [illegible] but of a Persian[231] hand, by virtu[illegible] tains images of Persians in their different costumes. The [illegible] roof consists of hemispheres [illegible] joined to the heaven-like [illegible] spectacle; closely packed angles project inw[illegible] the beauty of the ceiling is extraordinary, and [illegible] the cavities which, overlaid with gold, produ[illegible] [illegible] one in the [illegible] There is [illegible] who [illegible] hidden [illegible] in the surface [illegible] Not only those who [illegible] the first [illegible] but those who have [illegible] so [illegible] with wonder and astonishment. Indeed, this [illegible] building is more delightful than the Laconian ones of Mene-[illegible]

So, this Persian stage, the work of his grandfather's kindred hand,[235] [illegible] the actor John,[236] [illegible] not arrayed like an emperor, [illegible] on the ground [illegible] Persians represented in the building and drinking [illegible]

The Painter Eulalios

There has been endless disc[illegible] about the painter Eulalios: did he live in the 6th century or in the 12th?[237] *To my mind, there can be no doubt whatever that he was active in the reign of Manuel I, as the following texts demonstrate. That was precisely the time when Byzantine*

[illegible] room of the Imperial Palace.

230 I.e., Seljuq.

231 I.e., dome[illegible]

233 This refers [illegible] stalactite [illegible]

234 Ho[illegible]

235 Or "[illegible] kind [i.e., person] related to his grandfather." John [illegible] of Turkish lineage, being the son of the protostrator Alexius Axouch (on whom see p. 224) and the grandson of John Axouch, a Seljuq Turk captured as a boy by the Byzantines in 1097. The latter reached the rank of grand domestic and enjoyed the favor of Emperors John II and Manuel I. [illegible]

236 [illegible] *skênê* [illegible] (theatrical, an actor).

237 For the bibliography see V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), p. 95, [illegible] The correct solution was first put forward by N. [illegible] Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulalios-Frage," [illegible]

painters began to emerge from their anonymity and to sign their works: we should not be so surprised, therefore, that Eulalios, the most famous artist of his period, should have gone one step further and included his own portrait in a Biblical scene. With regard to the mosaic decoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles, all we can say with certainty is that parts of it were redone in the 12th century. The Pantocrator in the central dome and the Women at the Sepulchre were works of Eulalios. Several other scenes described by Mesarites, judging by their iconography, appear to have been made at the same time.[238] *The earlier ekphrasis by Constantine the Rhodian, which is certainly incomplete, alludes to eleven New Testament scenes (see pp. 199 ff); Mesarites describes twenty-two. The two accounts have only seven scenes in common, but we cannot draw any inference from this, since the two authors may have simply chosen to describe different compositions. Thus, Mesarites omits the Presentation in the Temple and the Entry into Jerusalem, which certainly made part of the main cycle.*

In view of the fact that the full text of Mesarites is now available in English translation, we have excerpted from it only those passages that relate to the two mosaics attributable to Eulalios. There is much else in Mesarites that is of interest, e.g., the scenes depicting the preaching of the Gospel by the apostles.

Theodore Prodromos, *Supplicatory poem addressed to Emperor Manuel I*, v. 37 ff.[239] If Prodromos were to die of penury, and this in your reign and days, where would Your Majesty find another Prodromos like me? Even if perchance you told your buffoon to impersonate me, to become my double, exactly as I am, you would not recognize, my Lord, the Prodromos you have in me. Even if Eulalios himself were to come, and that famous Chênaros and the well-known Chartoularis, who are the foremost painters,[240] they could not reproduce—let no one deceive you—a man like me, a man of such choice learning and wisdom, the greatest teacher of grammar and eloquence, the greatest poet, the greatest prose-writer.

238 See N. Malickij, "Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres," *Byzantion*. III (1926), 123 ff.

239 Ed. A. Maiuri, "Una nuova poesia di Teodoro Prodromo," BZ, XXIII (1920), 399 f.

240 The meaning of this sentence has been misunderstood by previous commentators, who thought that Prodromos was comparing his art or fame to that of Eulalios, a celebrated painter of a bygone age. What Prodromos is saying to the Emperor is, however, quite different: "Even if you are to call in Eulalios, he would not be able to paint a man of my accomplishments." It follows that Eulalios, Chênaros and Chartoularis (the latter two are otherwise unknown) were contemporary artists.

Theodore Prodromos.[241] These verses were written for the Annunciation in the church of the *pansebastos prôtosebastos*,[242] the son of the *sebastokratôr* Isaac.

Either the spirit has here taken on the grossness [of matter], or the colors have been altered in relation to the subject, and the brush as if it were made of some fine substance, delineates the incorporeal; for the spirit[243] that has been represented seems to be somehow addressing Gabriel's words to the Maiden, reverently and gently (since it is a mystery), yet he does not part his lips.

On the same [subject]: How reverent are your colors, O painter! For you are giving speech to the angel you have delineated, having dipped your brush in immateriality.

On the same [subject]: The image is animated, for indeed you are being painted alive, or else you are present alongside the painter as he has been delineating you and have let fall upon his brush a drop of breath: it is a live painting, for verily you live, O Virgin.

On the same [subject]: The colors are those of flesh, for they represent a live Maiden; or else so great is the art of Eulalios as to make paintings worthy of his name[244] and to mix colors that are endowed with speech. Yet, O stranger, this is not so because of the art of painting, but the Maiden who is celebrated among men has directed the brush of Eulalios and made his colors so expressive (*eulalon*).

Nicephorus Callistus, On the archangel Michael, a work of art by the famous painter, master Eulalios.[245]

It seems either that the painter has dipped his brush (*skariphos*) in immateriality to delineate a spirit, or else the spirit remains unobserved in his picture, hiding in colors his incorporeal nature. How is it that matter can drag the spirit down and encompass the immaterial by means of colors? This is [a work] of ardent love (as shown by the facts), and it kindles the heart.

Nicephorus Callistus, Other [verses] on the Lord Christ whom Eulalios has masterfully depicted in the central dome of the Holy Apostles:[246]

Either Christ Himself came down from heaven and showed the

241 [illegible] *l'Assoc.* [illegible]

242 [illegible] 113 ff., [illegible] Christ Evergetes.

243 [illegible] angel.

244 [illegible] expressive or endowed with speech, a pun on the name Eulalios.

245 Ed. [illegible] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Nikêphoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos," BZ, XI (1902), [illegible] f., No. 16.

246 *Ibid.*, [illegible] No. 14.

exact traits of His face to him who has such eloquent hands,[247] or else the famous Eulalios mounted up to the very skies to paint with his skilled hand Christ's exact appearance.

Nicholas Mesarites, *Description of the Church at the Holy Apostles*, XIV: This dome, starting at its very base,[248] exhibits an image of the God-man Christ looking down, as it were, from the rim of heaven towards the floor of the church and everything that is in it. He is not [represented] full-length and entire, and this, I think, is a very profound conception that the artist has had in his mind and has expressed by means of his art to the unhurried spectator: first, methinks, because at present our knowledge of things concerning Christ and His ways is but partial, as in a riddle or in a glass;[249] second, because the God-man is going to appear to us from heaven once again at the time of His Second Coming to earth, and the time until that happens has not yet entirely elapsed, and because He both dwells in heaven in the bosom of His Father,[250] and wishes to associate with men on earth together with His Father, according to the saying, "I and my Father will come and make our abode with him."[251] 2. Wherefore He may be seen, to quote her who sings [in the Canticle],[252] looking forth through the windows, leaning out down to his navel through the lattice which is near the summit of the dome,[253] after the manner of irresistibly ardent lovers. 3. His head is in proportion to His body that is represented down to the navel, His eyes are joyful and welcoming to those who have a clean conscience. . . . 5. Such are His eyes to those who are not reproached by their conscience, but to those who are condemned by their own judgment, they are wrathful and hostile. . . . 6. The right hand blesses those who walk a straight path, while it admonishes those who do not and, as it were, checks them and turns them back from their disorderly course. 7. The left hand, with its fingers spread as far apart as possible, supports the Gospel of Him who holds it, while pressing it and resting it somewhat on the left side of the breast, and by means of supporting it there procures considerable

247 The same pun on the name Eulalios.

248 Strictly speaking, this could not have been so, since we know that the central dome of the church had windows at its base. Mesarites probably means to say that the circular medallion containing the Pantocrator occupied the greater part of the curvature of the dome.

249 Cf. 1 Cor. 13:12.

250 John 1:18.

251 John 14:23.

252 Solomon's Song 2:9.

253 The reference to the "lattice" (*diktuōon*) is borrowed from the Septuagint version of Solomon's Song which has *dia tōn diktuōn*, "through the lattice." It is not quite clear to me what element of the dome Mesarites has in mind here. He may be thinking of the rainbow border of the medallion which is often rendered in a diaper pattern suggestive of a lattice or net.

[illegible] the burden [illegible] has more blue colo[r] than [illegible] thereby admon[illegible] us through the painter's hand not to wear splendid appa[illegible] seek purple and silk, scarlet and hyacinth.

Nicholas Mesarites, [illegible] of the Church of the Holy Apostles, XXVIII, [illegible] [the women] have already come to the tomb without shouts [illegible] and [illegible]ries. . . . 13. First, they see that the stone has been rolled away [illegible] tomb not by human hand . . . and then the angel himself [illegible] on the stone of the tomb. 14. Once more they are seiz[illegible] trepidation. . . . 15. And the tears which were gushing noi[illegible] eyes as from a fountain are immediately congealed. [illegible] like statues of wood and stone stand the women bearing unguents, and a deep pallor has spread over the surface of their faces. . . . [illegible] [the angel] whom they have seen revives them . . . and raises them [illegible] their collapse by the good tidings of the resurrection: 'Why seek ye, weeping, Him who lives among the dead?[254] . . . Verily the Life of all men has been called back to life, and the Resurrection of all men has arisen. 19. My words are witnessed by these seals of the tomb that have been loosed, by the bars and nails that have been torn [illegible] knocked down, by the towel and the winding cloths that have remained in the tomb, by the watchless guards who have fallen into a deathlike and, as it were, unwaking sleep. . . . 21. For all of their senses and energies have ceased to function. Some of them are seen stretched out snoring, others are bowing down their heads upon their own or their fellows' shoulders, others are pressing their arms against their knees and supporting their chins on the palm of their hands. . . . 22. But leave them here at this spot, sleeping their well-nigh unwaking sleep, and go quickly to the friends and disciples of Him who has arisen.

23. Thus did the angel [illegible] looking and gazing round [illegible] man who with his own hand has depicted these things[255] [illegible] seen standing upright by the Lord's tomb like a watchful guard dressed in the same robe and other garments [illegible] appearance when he was living and painting [illegible] admirably [in the representation] both of himself and [illegible] the other [particulars]. 24. And our discourse might well have spent more time in praising this man, and this with good reason, were it not obliged to accompany the women, hastening with them as they hasten to the di[illegible] in accordance with the angel's command.

254 Luke 24:5.

255 A marginal note in the manuscript says, "He means Eulalios."

The Angeli (1185–1204)

Isaac II Angelus (1185–95)

Nicetas Choniates, pp. 580 ff.: Above everything else, he [Isaac] was very eager to erect enormous buildings. . . . In both palaces[265] he built most splendid baths and apartments. He also constructed sumptuous houses along the Propontis and made little islands to rise in the sea. Having decided to build a tower at the palace of Blachernae both for its protection and support, as he claimed, and to serve as his dwelling-place,[266] he demolished a number of churches that had long stood neglected along the shore as well as many famous buildings of the Imperial City which, to this day, exhibit their foundations, a lamentable sight to all that pass by; among these, he tore down the splendid building of the Genikon[267] which was all of baked brick. He also destroyed, along with many others, the celebrated palace (*oikos*) of the Mangana,[268] showing no respect for the beauty and great size of the building, nor yet fearing the victorious Martyr [St. George] to whom it was dedicated. Wishing, furthermore, to restore the church of Michael, chief of the heavenly host, at Anaplous,[269] he transferred thither all the marble slabs, beautifully polished and mottled with many-colored spots, that were used for floor paving and wall revetment in the imperial palace.[270] He also collected in the same church as many images of the archangel, both painted and in mosaic, as the City contained and those that were set up as phylacteries in villages and in the country—works of ancient and quite wonderful art. This Emperor's eagerness to bring from Monembasia, as it is now called, the image of Christ led to the cross (an admirable and most elegant work of art) did not fall short of being a consuming passion. He was entirely gripped by this desire until he succeeded in removing the image thence by stealth, for to have done it openly would have been an operation not devoid of danger.[271] Furthermore, he trans-

265 I.e., in the old imperial palace next to the Hippodrome and in the palace of Blachernae.

266 On the tower of Isaac Angelus see A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City* (London, 1899), pp. 131 ff.

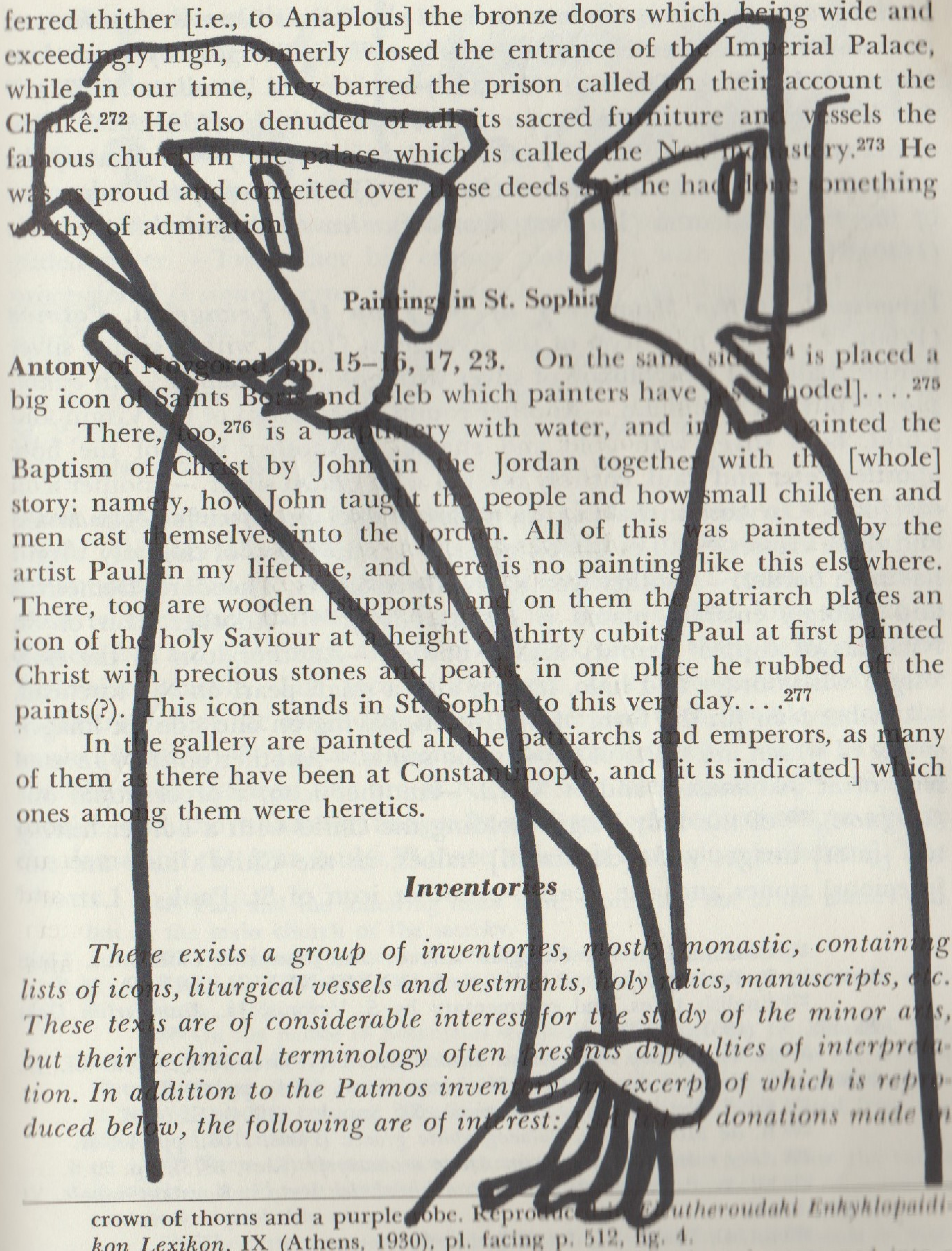
267 The Public Treasury. Its exact situation is unknown. See Janin, *CP byzantine*, pp. 173 f.

268 Cf. R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* (Paris, 1939), p. 42.

269 On this church see p. 115.

270 I.e., the old palace next to the Hippodrome. Ms B of the Bonn ed. specifies that the slabs in question were taken from the Nea church.

271 This icon has given its name (*Helkomenos*) to the largest church of Monembasia which in its present form dates from the end of the 17th century. It contains a much restored icon portraying Christ, his hands tied, wearing the



ferred thither [i.e., to Anaplous] the bronze doors which, being wide and exceedingly high, formerly closed the entrance of the Imperial Palace, while, in our time, they barred the prison called on their account the Chalkê.[272] He also denuded of all its sacred furniture and vessels the famous church in the palace which is called the Nea monastery.[273] He was as proud and conceited over these deeds as if he had done something worthy of admiration.

Paintings in St. Sophia

Antony of Novgorod, pp. 15–16, 17, 23. On the same side[274] is placed a big icon of Saints Boris and Gleb which painters have [as a model]. . . .[275]

There, too,[276] is a baptistery with water, and in it is painted the Baptism of Christ by John in the Jordan together with the [whole] story: namely, how John taught the people and how small children and men cast themselves into the Jordan. All of this was painted by the artist Paul in my lifetime, and there is no painting like this elsewhere. There, too, are wooden [supports] and on them the patriarch places an icon of the holy Saviour at a height of thirty cubits. Paul at first painted Christ with precious stones and pearls; in one place he rubbed off the paints(?). This icon stands in St. Sophia to this very day. . . .[277]

In the gallery are painted all the patriarchs and emperors, as many of them as there have been at Constantinople, and [it is indicated] which ones among them were heretics.

Inventories

There exists a group of inventories, mostly monastic, containing lists of icons, liturgical vessels and vestments, holy relics, manuscripts, etc. These texts are of considerable interest for the study of the minor arts, but their technical terminology often presents difficulties of interpretation. In addition to the Patmos inventory, an excerpt of which is reproduced below, the following are of interest: [illegible] donations made in

crown of thorns and a purple robe. Reproduced in [illegible] Eleutheroudaki *Enkyklopaidikon Lexikon*, IX (Athens, 1930), pl. facing p. 512, fig. 4.

272 The Chalkê (on which see p. 109) is said to have been turned into a prison in the 7th century.

273 On the Nea, see p. 194.

274 I.e., on the right hand side of St. Sophia, close to the altar.

275 Note variant reading *i tu menjajut pisy*, which presumably means "copies of which are sold by painters."

276 I.e., at St. Sophia.

277 It is not clear why Antony should make this remark if the painter Paul was his contemporary. It should be borne in mind that Antony's text has come down to us in a highly corrupt condition.

partition of the *bêma* consists of four posts (*stêmonoroi*) of green [marble] with bronze collars, two perforated closure slabs, a marble entablature and a gilded wooden *templon*.[299] The marble canopy (*katapetasma*) of the holy table, the latter having four straight moldings (?*riglia*),[300] is [supported] on four reed-like [columns] and is enclosed by means of two railings (*sustematia*) and two closure slabs (*stêtha*) as well as railing doors and [other] little doors. Above the west railing is a carved marble icon. The pavement consists of an interlace (*plokê*) of green slabs and *opus sectile* (*sunkopê*) and a border of Phlegmonousian marble.[301] To the south is an adjunct (*parapterugon*) having an arch (*tropikê*) adorned with paintings and a little conch with mosaics. The latter is screened off by means of three reed-like [columns], a *harmosphênion*[302] and a marble entablature. The two entrances into it have marble railings, a third is closed. The floor is of white marble with *opus sectile* and roundels. The outer semi-circular terrace (*hêliakos*), which is decayed, has two reed-like columns and a marble floor. The north adjunct has an arch adorned with paintings, a little conch that is not enclosed, and a floor of plain marble. . . .

299 This passage is of interest for the history of the Byzantine chancel-screen on which see esp. V. Lazarev, "Trois fragments d'épistyles peintes et le templon byzantin," *Deltion tês Christian. Archaiol. Hetaireias,* Ser. 4, IV (1964), 117 ff. We have here a normal marble screen consisting of pillars, closure slabs, and entablature. The wooden *templon* was probably placed above the entablature and represents a step in the direction of the gilded wooden iconostasis which, from about the 14th century onward, begins to form a solid barrier between the nave and the choir.

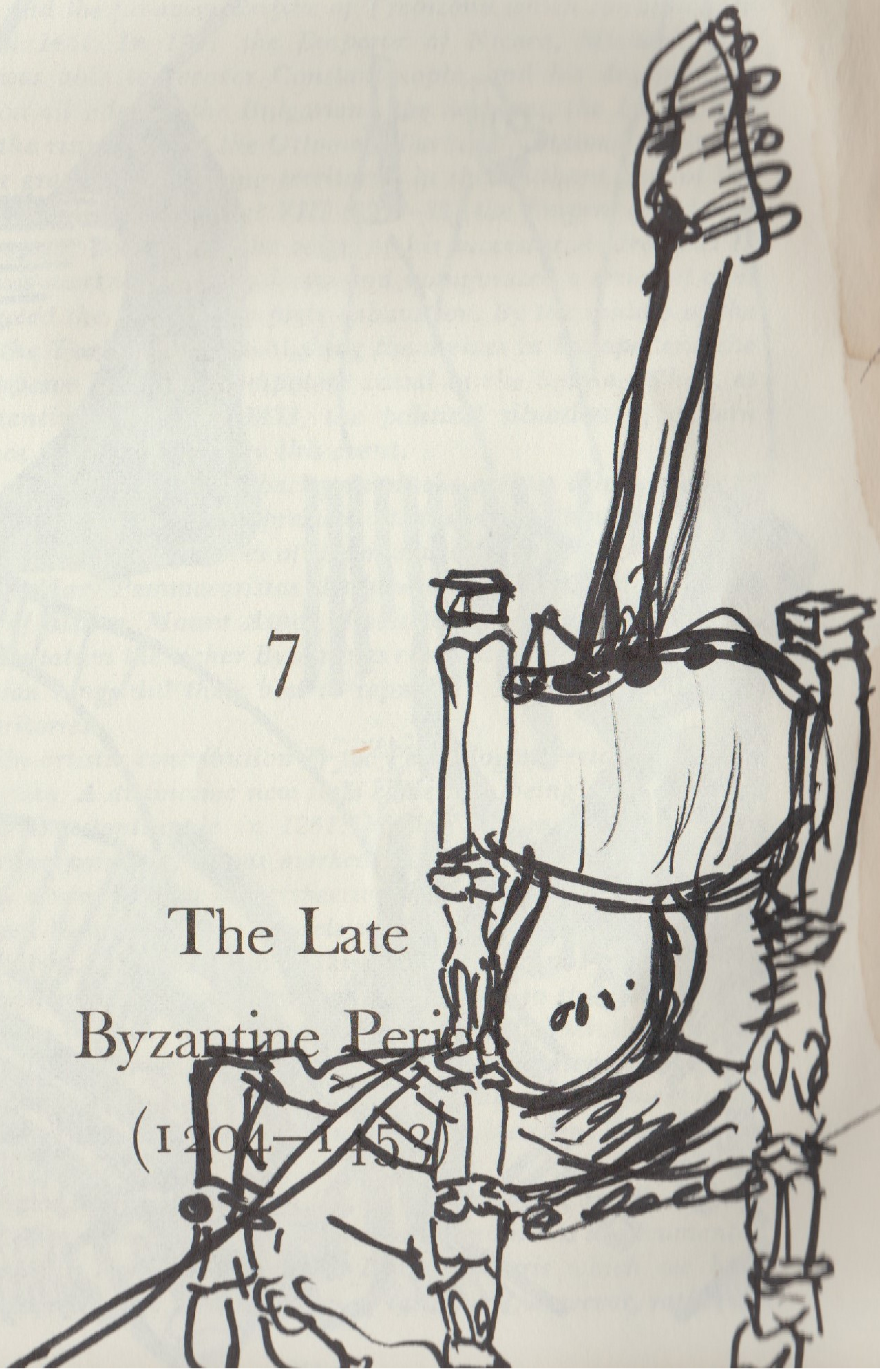
300 The term *riglion* (from Latin *regula*) denoted any kind of straight rod or ruler.

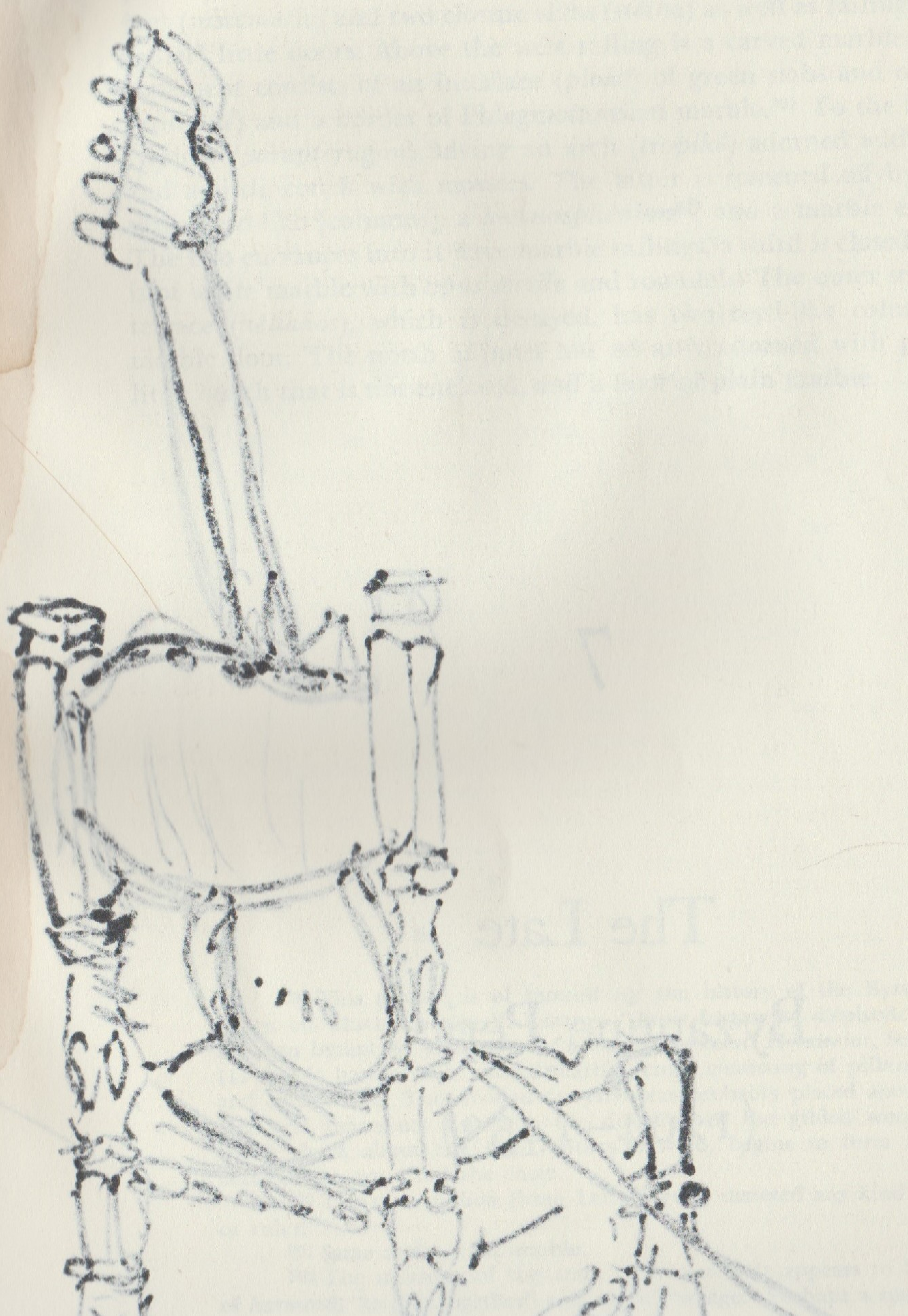
301 Same as Sagarian marble.

302 The meaning of this term is unknown. It appears to be a compound of *harmozô*, "to join together" and *sphên*, "wedge." Perhaps a spandrel is meant.

7

The Late Byzantine Period (1204–1453)





In 1204 the Byzantine Empire was fragmented. While the Crusaders occupied Constantinople, part of Bithynia, Thrace, the eastern half of Greece and the Poloponnese, while the Venetians made themselves masters of the Aegean islands and of Crete, the Byzantine Greeks set up a number of independent principalities: the Empire of Nicaea, the Despotate of Epirus, and the far-away Empire of Trebizond which continued its existence until 1461. In 1261 the Emperor of Nicaea, Michael VIII Palaeologus, was able to recover Constantinople, and his descendants, hard pressed on all sides by the Bulgarians, the Serbians, the Latins, but especially by the rising tide of the Ottoman Turks, maintained an uncertain hold over gradually shrinking territories in the southern part of the Balkan peninsula. Under Michael VIII (1259–82) the Empire could still pass as a European power, but the reign of his successor Andronicus II (1282–1328) was marked by heavy losses and inaugurated a series of civil wars that reduced the state to complete exhaustion. By the middle of the 14th century the Turks began establishing themselves in Europe, and the Byzantine Emperor became an impotent vassal of the Sultan. When, at length, Constantinople fell in 1453, the political situation of eastern Europe was not greatly affected by this event.

Viewed against this gloomy background, the artistic achievement of the Palaeologan period is very impressive, at least until about 1325. The incomparable mosaics and frescoes of the monastery of the Chora (Kariye Camii) and St. Mary Pammacaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Constantinople, the churches of Mistra, Mount Athos, Thessalonica and Ohrid show us how much ostentation the richer Byzantines could still afford at the time, and the Serbian kings did their best to reproduce Byzantine models on their own territories.

The main artistic contribution of the Palaeologan period lay in the realm of painting. A distinctive new style came into being soon after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261: lacking the monumentality of earlier Byzantine painting, it was marked by a multiplication of figures and scenes, by a new interest in perspective (however strangely rendered) and by a return to much earlier models such as illuminated manuscripts of the 10th century. The radiation of this new style was not quite as wide as that of Comnenian painting, being at first limited to the Balkans and the small section of Asia Minor that the Empire still controlled. But by the end of the 14th century Palaeologan painting was carried to Novgorod and Moscow and, thanks to the activity of that great master, Theophanes the Greek, produced a profound effect upon the subsequent development of Russian religious art.

The written sources bearing on the art of this period are disappointingly meager. The renewed interest in ancient monuments is documented by a letter of the Emperor Theodore Ducas Lascaris which we have included for its relevance to the history of taste; it is, however, rather

exceptional document since there is little evidence of any widespread curiosity about the remains of classical art in the 13th and 14th centuries.[1] *Was it the influence of antiquity or that of western Europe that inspired that most remarkable monument of the reign of Michael VIII, the bronze statue of the Emperor kneeling in front of his namesake, the archangel Michael? Alas, we shall never know. Yet, whatever new forms were absorbed by Palaeologan art, the old Byzantine tradition remained dominant, and patronage continued to be vested in a small class of "feudal" aristocracy. Our chief literary source for the artistic production of the early 14th century, the poet Manuel Philes, poured out a stream of doggerel verse concerned with icons, liturgical and secular vessels, funerary portraits, etc., practically all of them commissioned by members of the aristocracy. The content of his poems is, however, seldom interesting to the art-historian, consisting as it does either of clichés or the praises and lineage of his noble patrons. Nor can we derive much benefit from the poems of the prime minister Theodore Metochites who, after his disgrace, described in labored hexameters the beauties of his former palace and of the monastery of the Chora which he had rebuilt.*[2]

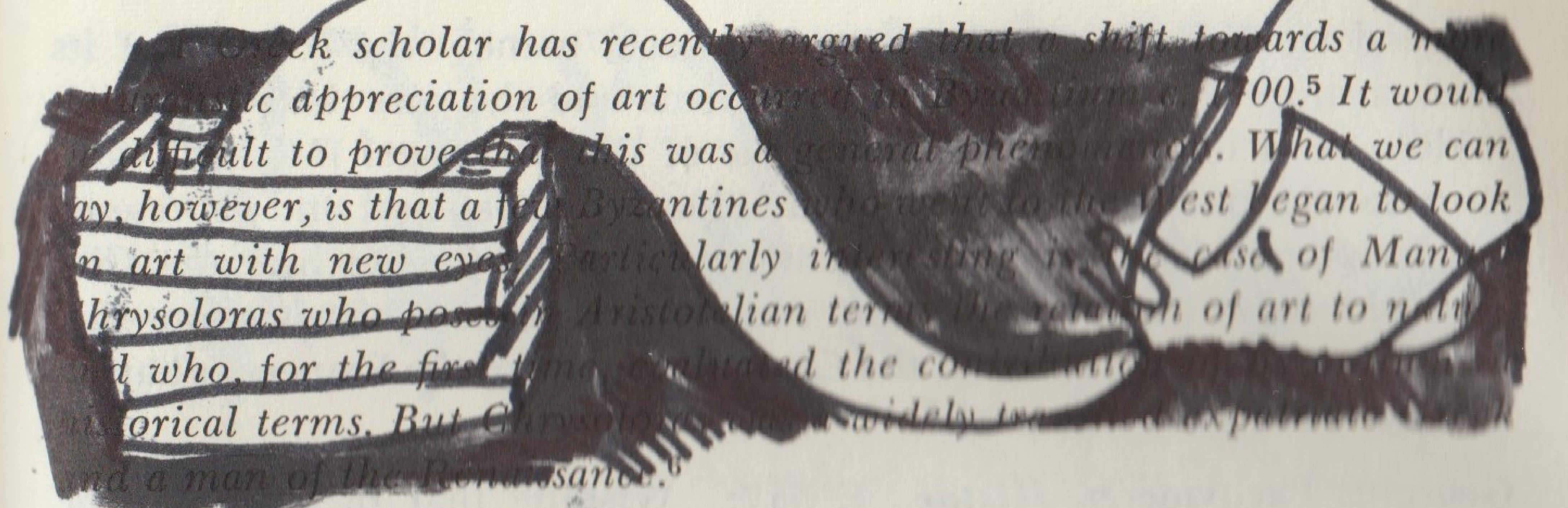
Contact with western art must have been a fact of everyday occurrence in the Palaeologan period, and it produced a twofold reaction. The Byzantine churchman, such as Symeon of Thessalonica, was deeply shocked by the naturalistic images and statues of the Latins which he denounced as a breach of Christian tradition. But this same naturalism in secular art drew the admiration of a few educated Byzantines who, predictably yet curiously enough, expressed it in the form of ekphraseis *of French or Flemish tapestries, such as the "Picture of Spring" by the Emperor Manuel II,*[3] *the "Kings in a garden" and the "Plane tree" by Joannes Eugenikos.*[4]

[1] In addition to Lascaris, we may mention Maximus Planudes who, towards the end of the 13th century, visited the ruins of Cyzicus. See C. Wendel, "Planudea," BZ, XL (1940), 432 ff.

[2] We have omitted the latter for reasons of space. The two poems relevant to the monastery of the Chora have been edited by M. Treu, *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites,* Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam (1895).

[3] Probably inspired by a tapestry at the Louvre. Text in PG 156, 577–80. Cf. J. von Schlosser, "Die höfische Kunst des Abendlandes in byzantinischer Beleuchtung," *Mitt. d. Inst. für österr. Geschichtsforschungen,* XVII (1896), 441 ff., reprinted in *Präludien* (Berlin, 1927), 68 ff.

[4] Text in J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844; reprint, Hildesheim, 1962), pp. 331 ff., 340 ff. There is also an *ekphrasis* of the Dormition of St. Ephraem Syrus attributed to Markos Eugenikos which has been shown to describe an Italian rather than a Byzantine picture. See D. Pallas, "Eikona tou hagiou Eustathiou stê Salamina," *Charistêrion eis A.K. Orlandon,* III (Athens, 1966), 358 ff. Text in K. L. Kayser, *Philostrati libri de gymnastica* (Heidelberg, 1840), pp. 142 ff.



Attitude towards Antiquity

Theodore Ducas Lascaris, *Epist. XXXII ad G. Acropolitam.*[7] Pergamon . . . is full of monuments, grown old, as it were, and decrepit with age, showing as through a glass their former splendor and the nobility of those who built them. For these things are filled with Hellenic elevation of thought and constitute the image of that wisdom. Such things does the city show to us, the descendants, reproaching us with the greatness of our ancestral glory. Awesome are these compared to the buildings of [illegible] There are walls reared up, their construction as variegated as [illegible] "brazen heavens."[8] In between flows a river bridged by tall arc[illegible] (by the Maker of heaven!) you would not think to be comp[illegible] rather to have grown up naturally as a single block of stone. If [illegible] like Pheidias were to see them, he would admire their exact [illegible] lack of inclination. Between the buildings are low hovels wh[illegible] as it were, to be the remnants of the houses of the departed [illegible] of them causes much pain. For, as mouseholes are compared to [illegible] of today, so one might say are the latter compared to those th[illegible] destroyed. . . . On either side of the circuit-wall [illegible] cylindrical towers, vying with each other in [illegible] work and girded with some kind of bands [illegible] modern hand, nor the conception of a mo[illegible] fills one with astonishment.[8a]

work

Michael VIII (1259–82)

Georgius Pachymeres, *Histor.*, II, 234. *This passage refers to the earthquake of 1296.* The church of All Saints which had stood until that time

[5] D. Pallas, "Hai aisthêtikai ideai tôn byzantinôn pro tês Haloseôs," *Epetêris Hetair. Byzant. Spoudôn,* XXXIV (1965), 313 f.

[6] On his career see G. Cammelli, *Manuele Crisolora* (Florence, 1941).

[7] Ed. Festa, pp. 107 f.

[8] *Iliad* XVII, 425.

[8a] This refers not to a theatre but to the so-called Serapeum or Red Court.

in good condition suffered grievous damage, namely the collapse of its roof, both that part that was over the bema and the part that was in the middle. And likewise the bronze statue of the Archangel [Michael] that is there—the one that is set up on a column-like pedestal and represents the Emperor Michael at the Archangel's feet, offering to him the City which he holds [in his hands] and commending it to his protection—this statue, I say, lost its head and the City slipped out of the Emperor's hands, and both fell to the ground.[9]

Georgius Pachymeres, *Histor.*, I, 517: Wishing that these deeds[10] be immortalized, he [Michael VIII] ordered them to be painted on the walls of the palace, and not these only, but also those that by God's grace had been accomplished from the beginning [of his reign]. The former were immediately painted in the vestibule, while the latter were not executed, the Emperor having died in the meantime.

Andronicus II (1282–1328)

The Prime Minister's Palace

Theodore Metochites, *To himself, after the reversal of his fortunes*, vv. 165 ff.[11] *The dethronement of Andronicus II in 1328 brought about the fall of his all-powerful and wealthy prime minister Metochites. The latter's palace, described in this passage, was sacked by the populace.* Within it [the palace] was a chapel, a delightful sight. . . . It stood unshaken, resting on a solid construction of evenly dressed stones joined together. Inside, columns support the roof, and outside, too, all round the pleasant vestibule, they are set up in a circle, a joy to see as they glisten. The entire pavement, both inside and out, is composed of glorious many-colored marbles cut in twain, and these, too, are set upright all round. Such was the chapel in my palace.

Round about were houses such as befitted the condition of noblemen, and very serviceable, too. There were also gardens of delightful beauty and ever-flowing fountains gushing forth, fed from the outside by well-built conduits. . . . Inside, underground reservoirs of water through hand-made founts relieved by their coolness the fiery heat. Also inside, abundant streams of water were channelled as necessary from a well-built bath, a pleasure to use and to see both within and without.

9 This monument is also mentioned by Buondelmonti in 1420: "Apud denique eclesiam sanctorium Apostolorum quinta insultat columpna; quo in capite Angelus eneus est, et Constantinus genuflexus hanc urbem in manu sua offert." Ed. G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, III (1931), 275 f.

10 The Byzantine victory over the Angevins at Berat in Albania in 1281.

11 Ed. with many mistakes by R. Guilland, "Le palais de Théodore Métochite," *Rev. des études grecques*, XXXV (1922), 88 ff.

There was also a courtyard surrounded by a portico sheltered from the rays of the sun; it was a delight to walk through it. It was very large as befitted the buildings, and it was pleasant to behold its position and the proportion of its length to its width. It was paved with quarried stone besprinkled with old lime dust in a uniform, dry layer so as to afford easy passage to both men and horses, free from the hindrance of marshy ground. . . .

Allegories

Manuel Philes, *Cod. Escur.*, Poem No. 237:[12] On the images of the Virtues in the palace: If you are expressing in colors the Emperor's character, why have you painted only four virtues? If it was not possible to represent [the other virtues that are begotten] of these [four], why, instead of them all, have you not painted him in person. . . ? *The same conceit is repeated in Nos. 238–40 and in* Cod. Paris., *No. 24.*[13]

No. 241. On Prudence who points her finger at her head: O maiden Prudence, is it on your own estimation that you are pointing your finger at yourself? Point it instead at the Emperor of the Roman country who has shown his head to be your instrument.

No. 243. On the image of Fortitude: In representing the soul's boldness in the face of the passions, the painter has given arms to Fortitude.[14]

No. 244. [On the image] of Justice: On seeing, O stranger, the image of the heavenly scales, weigh well your actions in this life.[15]

No. 245. [On the image] of Temperance: Not only her crown, but also her modest gaze and her garments that are drawn together adorn Temperance.

Manuel Philes, *Cod. Escur.*, Poem No. 248:[16] On a picture of Life which represents a tree, in which is a man gaping upwards and quaffing honey from above, while below, the roots [of the tree] are being devoured by mice:[17] On seeing this symbol of the shadow of [earthly] things, bear in mind, O man, the end that is hidden from you. Standing upright, you are enjoying the honey of pleasure, while a dragon with gaping mouth awaits your fall to destroy you. *Poems 246, 249–52 are devoted to the same picture.*

12 Ed. Miller, I, 124 ff.

13 *Ibid.*, II, 67.

14 Fortitude was probably represented holding spear and shield. These attributes suggest western influence.

15 Justice was traditionally represented holding a balance.

16 Ed. Miller, I, 127.

17 This composition is derived from the story of Barlaam and Joasaph. See S. Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph* (Paris, 1937), pp. 63 ff.

Painting of a Garden

Manuel Philes, *God. Paris.*, Poem 62:[18] On the painted ceiling in the palace: Where has this luxurious garden been planted? Do you not see it above ground, O stranger? In what manner, being as it is suspended and stretched out under the roof, does it preserve so securely its interwoven contexture, lest its bond be disrupted by the breezes and so force the fruit to drop off before its time? What moisture have the roots absorbed to have produced such delicate shoots on the plants? For the painter, no matter how exactly he imitates nature, is unable to pour in water. Whence has the warmth of vegetation crept through to put forth flowers that adorn the boughs, to make leaves with their hidden shadows? Who has gone by and painted, next to the lilies, all those colors of the beautiful grove? Do you see the white, the dark green, the hue that grows pale as if from sickness, and the one that is adorned with purple, a purple that does not come from the sea-shell? Be mindful, O spectator, not to touch the lilies; for you are not permitted to use your knife here, lest any [plant] be stabbed and quickly fade away, and so deprive the birds of their food. See how the painter has shown himself an excellent caretaker of the grove: for he has depicted the carnivorous animals pursuing only those which by nature feed on herbs, so that the meadow should not be given over to grazing to be ravaged all too soon. And lest the fowl devour the grass, he has confined them in circular pens. And the foursome of hares, fashioned so fitly, he has gathered in a single group lest they be parted from one another, and one of them, rushing out into the meadow, be immediately seized by the jaws of those bloodthirsty animal-stalkers. And if, my good man, in some parts of the garden you chance to see a bird perched in the hollow of a lily, gathering the sperm of the flower, do not be astonished at the painter: for he provides food for the humble, and he makes the garden a place of strange and soft delight; otherwise one might have thought that the green grass was devoid of moisture and unsuitable for eating. As you can see, he has also painted a female lion and given her a fixed abode that she might feed her cubs, and fenced her with a woven barrier, lest she boldly sally forth and chase away the roe with her young. . . . *The poet goes on to refer to a pair of peacocks. The noisier birds, however, such as swallows, nightingales and swans have been banished from the garden lest their cries disturb the silence that is obligatory in an imperial chamber.*

[18] Ed. Miller, II, 127 ff.

John V (1341–91)

The Mosaic of the Pantocrator in the Dome of St. Sophia

Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist.*, XXIX, 47 f.[19] *Part of the dome of St. Sophia collapsed in 1346. The repairs lasted several years, and shortly after 1355 an enormous mosaic of Christ Pantocrator in a circular medallion was made in the center of the dome, probably the last mosaic of any size to have been produced in the Byzantine Empire.*

Having reached this point, it would be fitting to set down the length and breadth of the holy image of the enhypostatic Wisdom of God, I mean Christ our Saviour, that was recently depicted on the inner curved surface of the roof. . . . It is worth reflecting, I think, that when one looks up [at the image] from below, one is unable [to apprehend] by means of sight its true proportions and transmit them to the mind, since sight is usually deceived by the interposition of distance between the spectator and the object seen. . . . The height [of the head] from its summit to the tip of the beard is 28 palms, its width 14, the first finger 8½ long and the others in proportion. Each eye is 3 palms, and the nose nearly 8.[20] Now that I have given these elements, the more accomplished painters will be able, by using proportional analogy, to reckon straightaway the length and breadth of the other members and parts as well as the conformation of the entire body of that holy image of the Saviour.

The Painter Gastreas

Manuel Raoul, Letter to the Painter Gastreas (c. 1360?):[21] Granted that a painter's hand possesses sagacity and is skilled in imitating truth, I, too, have need of Your Sagacity's hand for [an icon of] the venerable and glorious Dormition of the most-pure Mother of Christ Our Saviour; all the more so since I remember your very considerable zeal in this respect when, not less than twenty-six years ago, you sought an exact [picture] of this, and often repaired in the morning to Upper Tavia[22] in order to reproduce the ancient icons there (*tous archetupous pinakas*). For

[19] CSHB, III, 255 f.

[20] These measurements do not appear to be altogether consistent. See C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia* (Washington, D.C., 1962), pp. 87 f. The medallion enclosing the Pantocrator (now probably destroyed) has a diameter of 11 m.

[21] Ed. S. Lambros, BZ, VII (1898), 310; ed. R. J. Loenertz, *Epist. Hetair. Byzant. Spoudôn*, XXVI (1956), 162.

[22] A locality in Arcadia.

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this reason I request you to grant me what I am seeking at the appropriate [fee].

Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century

Manuel Chrysoloras, *Epist.* 1 *addressed to the prince John Palaeologus (later the Emperor John VIII).*[23] *In this letter Chrysoloras compares Rome, where he is then residing, to Constantinople. The Old Rome and the New Rome resemble each other as a mother resembles her daughter; but the latter is the more beautiful of the two.* Had I wished to enumerate the memorials, the tombs, the monuments and statues that are or have been in our city [Constantinople], I would not have been at a loss to do so. I might have had to acknowledge that there are fewer of them than there are here [in Rome], but some of them are much more beautiful and splendid. Take, for example, the tomb of the Emperor who is the founder and guardian of the city, and the other tombs that are round it in the imperial mausoleum—a wonder to behold—and many others that are preserved standing in a circle near the church of the Apostles,[24] in addition to those that have disappeared, and all those others that are in the vestibules of churches in different parts of the city. Or take the statue of the Emperor who made laws;[25] in front of it, if I remember correctly, to the east, there had been other statues upheld on enormous columns. Many other such statues used to be in the city as shown by their remaining pedestals and the inscriptions upon them; these were in different places, but especially in the Hippodrome. Many of these, which I now hear have been removed, I earlier saw myself. It is also said that the column on the Xêrolophos and the one facing it to the east, the one named after the bull (*tauros*),[26] on the other hill, once supported statues of beaten silver, the former of the elder, the latter of the younger Theodosius. How big, precious and beautiful these statues must have been may be surmised from the beauty, height, splendor and magnificence of the bases. In recalling these to my mind, I also remembered that in line with the same street, to the west, there was once a gate

23 PG 156, 45 ff. The letter was written from Rome in 1411.

24 Referring to the mausolea of Constantine and Justinian, on which see P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVI (1962), 20 ff.

25 Justinian's equestrian statue in the Augustaion. Concerning the columns placed in front of it see C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 174 ff.

26 Referring to the "historiated" columns (i.e., columns whose shaft was covered with a spiral band of pictorial reliefs) of Theodosius I at the Forum Tauri and of Arcadius (not Theodosius II) on the seventh hill called Xêrolophos. The first of these was pulled down c. 1500, but a few fragments of its reliefs survive; the second was dismantled c. 1715, but its battered pedestal is still standing. See G. Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome, 1960), 83 ff.

balconies facing in all directions and exposed to all the breezes. On the other side is stretched out a very long and beautiful building, its floor entirely paved with white marble, while its ceiling shines with the blooms of painting, with gold and various colors. The entire hollow [of the ceiling] gleams with shining stars in imitation of the heavens and exhibits excellence and delicacy of painting. All round, on the walls, is painted the choir of the emperors, both those who have ruled our land and their ancestors;[38] also painted there are the dangers our city has undergone and those who in attacking it have done so to their own detriment. High up, at the end of the building, there appears a covered imperial dais (*bêma*) having a pyramidal roof supported on four columns. This, too, is screened all round with white marble, roof and all, and it separates the emperors from their subjects as with a barrier. It is there in particular that the emperor makes his appearance, that he conducts business with his ministers, converses with ambassadors, speaks and is spoken to. Farther on is another imperial hall (*bêma*) of outstanding height and width, covered with a roof and having columns all round. In this building, which is decorated with paintings, is a flight of steps so as to raise the emperor aloft, and it is here that he is wont to give splendid banquets for his ministers and other subjects. On the left hand side one encounters a suite of many rooms, including one that differs from the rest: this is fenced by four equal sides, like a frame, and contains memorials of the Creation of the world and of the origin and history of man.[39] On the right hand side are many halls, vestibules, terraces, chambers and rooms separated by colonnades running athwart one another, all of a measure that cannot be surpassed, each bigger than the next and all constructed with unutterable beauty and due harmony. There, too, is set up a church decorated with beautiful paintings and adorned with sacred offerings which, if not very numerous, are of outstanding beauty. What this church lacks in size it makes up in comeliness.

Attitude towards Latin Religious Art

Symeon of Thessalonica, *Contra haereses*, ch. 23:[40] What other innovation have they [the Latins] introduced contrary to the tradition of the Church? Whereas the holy icons have been piously established in honor of their divine prototypes and for their relative worship[41] by the faithful, . . . and they instruct us pictorially by means of colors and other materials

38 The imperial dynasty of Trebizond was descended from the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (1183–85).

39 I.e., paintings illustrating the book of Genesis.

40 PG 155, 112.

41 See p. 169, n. 86.

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Italian Renaissance Art, 15th Century
H. W. Janson, New York University; and Elizabeth G. Holt

Italian Art, 1500-1600
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Northern Renaissance Art, 1400-1600
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Italy and Spain, 1600-1750
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Linda Nochlin, Vassar College

The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453
Cyril Mango, Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies

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